Data for the Beatification Process of Fr. Francisco Suárez

Datos para el proceso de beatificación del P. Francisco Suárez

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BY

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The introduction of the Cause of beatification of Fr. Suárez is an old project, for which preparatory work has been accumulating ever since the renewal of sacred studies in the time of Pope Leo XIII. The first phase of this work was carried out by a team of Fathers of the Society presided over by Suárez's historian, Fr. Raoul de Scorraille. This phase came to a halt after the publication of Fr. Suárez's life by Fr. Scorraille during the first European war. The last important manifestation of that movement was the celebration of the third centenary of Suárez's death (1617/1917) at Granada, the native city of the Doctor Eximius.

The principal promoter of the second phase was the distinguished Spanish professor and politician Don José Ibáñez Martín, recently deceased. Thanks to his unbroken support it was possible to celebrate the fourth centenary of Suárez's birth (1548/1948), with the massive participation of numerous specialists from all over the world and with the publication of scientific works of exceptional value, under the high protection of the Governments of Spain and Portugal. In this second phase the International Francisco Suárez Society was constituted, with its seat in the University of Coimbra, at the Congress held at Bilbao (September 1951). One of its purposes is the glorification of the virtues of Fr. Suárez and the preparation of his canonical process of beatification.

On the occasion of the fourth centenary of the Foundation of the University of Evora (1559/1959), organized by the academic centres of Portugal — especially by the Universities of Coimbra and of Lisbon — with the intervention and support of the then ambassador of Spain in Lisbon, Don José Ibáñez, the introduction of the Cause was again taken up. The result of these initiatives was the agreement reached at Braga — on the occasion of the inauguration of the Faculty of Theology of that city — by His Eminence the Patriarch of Lisbon, Dr. Cerejeira, in the presence of the Rev. Fr. Paolo Dezza,

representative of the Most Rev. Fr. General of the Society, Pedro Arrupe, to organize the final preparations, so that His Eminence the Cardinal Patriarch might lay before the Holy See the official and solemn petition for the introduction of the Cause. It is to these desires and agreements that the initiative of the *ATG* in publishing this preparatory work responds.

I.—History of the cause

A.—The cause has not been introduced

1.—Suárez's modern biographer, Fr. Raoul de Scorraille, asks with astonishment "why the introduction of the canonical process was omitted in the time following his death, when it would have been so easy to carry it through". But the fact is that "the cause of François Suárez was never introduced, nor even presented to the Congregation of Rites" (R. de Scorraille, *François Suárez*, París (1911) II 357).

2.—Descamps, the best documented of the older biographers, supposes the same fact in the Author's second Protestation: "And I protest that it is not my intention, by what has been related in this life, to attribute cult or veneration to any person who does not yet possess it from the Apostolic See, nor to introduce or increase a reputation of sanctity, nor to dispose or take any step towards the Beatification or Canonization, or the verification of miracles, of Father Francisco Suárez" (A. I. Descamps, *Vida del Venerable Padre Francisco Suárez de la Compañía de Jesús*, Perpiñán (1672) VII, ch. 7, pp. 768–769).

3.—Fr. Giuseppe Massei expresses himself in the same manner: "nor do I wish, by these my narratives, to claim for anyone any cult or veneration, or fame, or opinion of sanctity or of martyrdom, nor to induce or increase such, nor to add anything to his repute, nor any step towards his future Beatification or Canonization at some time, or the verification of a miracle" (G. Massei, *Vita del Venerabil Servo di Dio et Esimio Teologo P. Francesco Suarez*, Rome (1687) p. 253).

4.—The Spanish Inquisition seized and condemned a placard of theses defended at Valencia in the year 1692, on account of the engraving of Suárez in which he appears wrapped about by the rays that issue from the image of Mary

which he has before him, and on account of the praises of Suárez's sanctity, as being contrary to the decrees of Urban VIII. All this shows that Suárez's cause of beatification was never introduced, but at the same time it presupposes the fame of sanctity that always surrounded his person.

B.—Fame of sanctity during his lifetime

5.—Fr. Suárez's manner of life, dedicated exclusively to study and to teaching, is not the one best suited to winning a great fame of sanctity, still less to having that reputation recorded in testimonies from his own religious family. Nevertheless, in the documentation relating to Suárez there appear trustworthy testimonies to the fame of his virtue. These will be indicated later. It is enough here to allude briefly to several groups of letters, beginning with those of the General, Fr. Aquaviva. To the Rector of Alcalá, Fr. Hernando Lucero, desiring that "he take particular care of the health and comfort of Fr. Suárez, since his religious spirit, his good qualities and the labours with which he has served the Society deserve it" (31 Oct. 1591). To the Provincial of Castile (Fr. Alfonso de Ribera) he says of Fr. Suárez: "I hope he will help by his good example and much learning wherever he may be" (2 Sept. 1597). To Suárez himself he said, with regard to his assignment to Coimbra: "I am very certain of the humility and religious spirit with which Your Reverence will accommodate himself to doing and suffering whatever occasions may require" (1 July 1597).

6.—More significant is the testimony of the theologian Gabriel Vázquez concerning the fame of sanctity which he acknowledges in Suárez. Vázquez was passing through a crisis of exasperation in which he writes to the General, Fr. Aquaviva, in terms offensive to the General, to St. Robert Bellarmine, to Cardinal Toledo and to others, ending the letter with his complaints about Suárez. It should be noted that Suárez was very ill. Among other afflictions he suffered from a chronic toothache. A few months later he had to give up the chair on account of his infirmities. The most extreme phrase of Vázquez's attack is the following: "his ailments are a wolf's head, so that the best of the house, and even hens, go for his food. Which, although it is once a day, at night, yet at midday he is wont to take a couple of eggs with sugar, and a bowl, with its side dish and its dessert. That Your Paternity may see the abstinences; for with this, and a double portion at night, and preserves in his room, I would bind myself to pass all my days" (22 April 1593).

7.—Accepting the data of this document, Suárez's diet was quite sparing, and justified the fame of abstinence which Vázquez's words presuppose. Vázquez was moreover attacking Suárez on certain doctrines, because "in wishing to exalt the mysteries of the faith, we make them more difficult without necessity" (Vázquez in l. p. 176, 7). This accusation goes against the title of pious Theologian, which was accorded to Suárez in his lifetime, even in pontifical bulls, which will be cited presently.

8.—As happens with men of eminent sanctity and humility, the students sought occasions to pay him honours which brought a blush to the Master, whom for his simplicity they venerated in an extraordinary manner (Descamps V. 26, p. 575).

9.—Suárez's merit and humility were the occasion of five briefs by which Paul V honoured, in his life and in his death, the virtues and labours of the man whom he called the Eximious and Pious Theologian. His Eminence Cardinal Cicognani sums up the importance of those briefs in these significant words:

> "Twelve long years of life still passed without the Doctor Eximius recovering his honour. God restored it for him by the pontifical briefs of Paul V, a witness beyond all exception, who became the most authoritative panegyrist that Fr. Suárez could have in this world, in life and in death" (His Eminence Card. Cicognani, *Grandeza de Suárez como pensador y como religioso*, in *Miscelánea Comillas* (1948) p. 19).

10.—The pontifical title of *pious* — a synonym for sanctity in ordinary language — is repeated as a surname added to that of Suárez, as a sign of how notorious his piety was. To Paul V's high esteem for Suárez's sanctity there corresponded that of his secretary, Cardinal Borghese, attested in three letters, praising him in the name of Paul V as one of "those who are most eminent for goodness and learning" (10 Nov. 1609), as standing in "great favour with Our Lord for the merit of his virtue, on account of which I bear him a particular affection" (8 Nov. 1612). In the moving letter of thanks from the Nuncio (or Collector) Accoramboni it is said of Suárez, in speaking of religious of virtue and letters, that Suárez is "so eminent" (Sartolo p. 26h).

11.—Among the admirers of Suárez's virtue during his lifetime we must count Rodrigo da Cunha, Bishop of Portalegre, Archbishop of Braga and later of Lisbon, who asks Suárez for counsel "for his great virtue and humanity" (30 August 1608). But the episcopal eulogy that has passed into history is that of the Bishop of Coimbra, Alfonso Castello Branco, in the approbation

of the *Defensio Fidei*. Suárez did what he could to prevent it, but the bishop would not tone down any of the praises, among them that of sanctity: "no one is ignorant of the holiness of his life" (12 June 1613). In the same way, in the censure of the Bishop of the Algarve, Fernando Rodrigues Mascarenhas, he is called "a most religious and most weighty author", and he is praised no further only so as not to offend "the modesty of a most weighty Father, who is wont to reckon praises as darts, and those who praise him as enemies".

12.—With the same fame of virtue and letters Suárez appears in the royal documents. Thus speaks Philip II, after having shown a determined insistence that Suárez be assigned — in spite of his poor health — to the chair at Coimbra, whose lecturer must be "a person of as much learning and parts as it requires; and I being informed that these concur in the person of Francisco Suárez (...); and that by his great learning and virtues his teaching and doctrine could be of much fruit in those schools".

13.—Philip III professed an extraordinary veneration for Fr. Suárez, as may be gathered from the defence which he makes of his person and works before Clement VIII, by means of his ambassador the Duke of Escalona, calling Suárez "one of the gravest and most exemplary fathers, and of the best name that the Society has in letters, religion, modesty and virtue" (11 Nov. 1603).

C.—Fame of sanctity after his death

14.—Suárez's fame of sanctity, notorious in his lifetime only to the most select part of society and of the Church, began to spread immediately after his death. For his funeral honours, which lasted three days, the pontifical Collector Accoramboni lifted the interdict of the city of Lisbon "in order to honour the eminent services he has rendered to the Church" (Scorraille V, 2,6); and the city came to honour him as a saint, without distinction of classes or of religious orders, all of whom officiated at the exequies of the three days together with the same Collector, Ottavio Accoramboni, Bishop of Fossombrone. In the later correspondence he recalls Suárez and his labour on behalf of "that most eminent man, Fr. Suárez" (Arch. di Nunz. di Lisbona, divis. 1.ª, posizione 1, sez. 6.ª n.º 1). Borghese, writing to Accoramboni, recalls "the vow of that pious mind of Father Suárez" (2 March 1618).

The official Report brings out in various passages the attitude of Suárez, the sole defender of the Apostolic See who is mentioned in the Interdict of

that city, "the most populous in Europe, Paris excepted". The Report notes that the Collector had the Jesuits for adversaries, and in particular the famous Jesuit Fr. Areda: "having on his side that most eminent man, Fr. Suárez, who defended the justice of the Interdict sword in hand, not only with the royal ministers of Portugal, but with the King himself, writing to him at length with all freedom to His Majesty, as may be seen below at nos. 45 and 62. He wrote again to the Father Confessor and to whomever it concerned". Fr. Areda was more or less favoured by the provincial, Fr. Francisco Pereira, "since both were in agreement about preserving the favour of the Viceroy". In sum, the Reporter (Accoramboni) wishes to record his labours and writings "so as not to defraud so rare a man of the honours due to him".

16.—Within this historical framework the eulogies of Paul V take on their significance, in the brief of 25 August 1617, which reached Lisbon after the death of Suárez, worn out by his labours. In it he speaks of his writings: "which, being consonant with your great piety and learning, have been most welcome to us. Wherefore we praise your work, as we ought, and we exhort you in the Lord to go on freely serving the honour of God and of His Church, in which you so greatly shine by divine grace: for we know how much your authority avails for rooting out the tares" (Paul V to Suárez, 25 August 1617). Borghese, on 20 November 1617, expresses the Pope's great condolence: "who blesses his soul"; and he is glad that the last Brief was given "to the Father Prepositus of the Society there, and that all those good Fathers may be consoled by it" (Borghese to Accoramboni, 20 Nov. 1617).

17.—His Eminence Cardinal Cicognani has written of this last brief that it "constituted the most beautiful funeral oration that a soldier of the Church could desire, and at the same time takes on the character of an exceptional document concerning the sanctity of the Eximius: its value surpasses the canonical proofs. In Suárez's case the congratulatory briefs of Paul V, and especially this last one of 25 August 1617, acquire the full value of a pontifical testimony, in that he orders his Secretary of State that the said Brief be communicated to the 'Father Prepositus of the Society of Jesus of Lisbon, so that through him all those good Fathers may be consoled"' (*Miscelánea Comillas* (1948) p. 21).

18.—The official obituary of the Society is the annual letter of Coimbra by Fr. Morin, completed on 2 May 1618. It is extremely long for the genre of the annual letters of the houses, and it ordinarily follows the biography by Veiga, circulated some months earlier. The editor of the annual letters of the Province devotes a special remembrance to him as well, and supposes that

Coimbra would obtain the translation of his remains. But the capital, Lisbon, prevailed, and kept them.

19.—Other semi-official documents of the Society reflect the great odour of sanctity that Suárez left among the Jesuits. His last rector, Fr. Abreu, writes to the Fr. General how Suárez fell ill from the many labours undertaken on account of the Interdict, and adds:

> "In this college we held conferences upon his virtues. Many things came to light out of which one could compose the life of a man as holy as he was learned. I shall tell Your Paternity that three or four months before he died he withdrew to make the spiritual exercises very deliberately, telling me that he had little time left to live. He asked me to hear his general confession from the day he entered the Society. He chose a weak spiritual shepherd, but I was left most consoled, for I did not find that in that soul, in the 53 years he was in the Society and of which he made confession, he had committed any grave offence against Our Lord".

20.—He praises him for his extraordinary chastity and modesty, and reports the things recounted in a document written years before by Brother Sylva, a man known for his great fame of sanctity, concerning the times when he had come upon Fr. Suárez in his inner room, rapt out of himself and radiant with the splendours issuing from a crucifix. Brother Sylva had made this account by order of Fr. Morales "the blind", who had been spiritual director of the Brother and of Fr. Suárez.

21.—The conference of the Roman College, held by the express will of the General, Fr. Vitelleschi, was communicated to other countries. The Belgian Fr. Van Brussel communicated in a long letter the account of the great theologian's virtues. The Diary of the Professed House of Cracow likewise inserted several pages consecrated to Suárez's sanctity, which may be seen in the collection *Scriptores rerum Polonicarum* t. XIV, on 24 September, Cracow (1889).

22.—Brother Jerónimo da Sylva's letter is still preserved in a copy in the National Library of Madrid, Mss. X. 53. There are also preserved various copies and translations of the Annual Letters of Lisbon, which devote a long chapter to the virtues of the servant of God. The Academy of History preserves a copy (Jesuits t. 112 n.º 45). It describes especially the heroic virtues of his last illness and death, of which the writer was a witness. There follow the funeral honours, with the liturgical participation of Augustinians and Franciscans and the eulogies of the Dominicans. The information about the portraits is of interest: "One of the things in which they showed the great esteem in

which they held him were the portraits which many persons of authority took care to obtain for their consolation and devotion: among which the chief was the Nuncio, who keeps it in his common room, as a piece of great esteem".

23.—Menologies are at once a sign of veneration and a permanent remembrance of persons eminent in sanctity. Neither did this sacred literary genre fail among the homages paid to Suárez's sanctity. In a menology proper to Rome and other provinces an extraordinary eulogy of Suárez is made, as may be seen in Descamps VI, c. 1 and in Sartolo IV c. 1: "Tomorrow, on 25 September, at Lisbon in Portugal, Father Francisco Suárez, a native of Granada, passed from this life to eternal life; an angel and even a cherub in understanding, wherewith he attained the highest truths, and by them has enlightened the whole world: so that he is called the universal Master of our age and a second Augustine. In will and affection he was a most burning Seraph in the love and contemplation of his God, until he was carried away and lifted up from the earth. To this he joined all the other virtues of a perfect religious: in particular a most profound humility and a lowly opinion of himself and of his affairs; a singular modesty, and a patience and evenness of mind admirable in the labours and persecutions he underwent. He died in the professed house of Lisbon".

24.—But among the documents on Suárez's sanctity there stands out the *Relação da vida e costumes, morte do P. Francisco Suárez*. It is preceded by a letter from the author to the Provincial, Fr. Pereira, and is dated 20 January 1618, before the four months from his death had elapsed. The author had asked Castile for information about the years he had lived in Spain, but it had not yet reached him. Fr. Veiga proposes to make not a panegyric but an objective account. The letter to the Provincial is a gloss on the phrase of the Bishop of Coimbra, who used to say that Suárez was no less a saint than a scholar. In spite of the lack of documentation from Spain, Veiga knew very well Suárez's early years and career; his knowledge of his life as a professor at Segovia, Valladolid, Rome, Alcalá and Salamanca is scantier, but always sure and documentable. The Portuguese period, as socius of the Fr. Provincial and professor at Coimbra, was extremely well known to him. Veiga, a well-known writer of lives of saints, composed a genuine documentary jewel of Suárez's life. Chapters of special importance are: "VII. His prayer, punctuality in the spiritual exercises, and the gifts he received from God in them"; VIII. "His retirement, silence and patience". IX, "His penance and extraordinary abstinence". X, "Of his humility". XI, "Of the esteem and reputation in which the

world held him". XII, "How he despised and fled worldly glory and honour". XIII, "Of his charity". XIV, "Of his happy death".

25.—Inspired by Veiga, though adding elements of its own, is the *Vita Francisco Suárez* written before 1619. This *Vita* was incorporated in 1619 into the first volume *De Gratia*, and was repeated in various editions of other works. (This *Vita* is to be found in the Library of the Academy of Madrid). Freire's *Vita* was translated into Castilian with slight modifications. (The translation has been found in the Archive of the Province of Mexico).

26.—In the Roman Archive of the Society of Jesus another Italian account is preserved, in the highest degree laudatory of Suárez's virtues, by a contemporary author (*Arch. Rom. Soc. Ies. Vitae 30*). The Roman College had devoted an act of homage to the virtues of its former Professor, with the very well documented participation of the Assistant for Portugal, Fr. Gouvea.

27.—The great missionary and writer Luis de Valdivia composed a brief notice on Suárez's virtues (*Arch. Gen. Soc. Iesu. Castellana - Necrología* n.º 16). Later biographers made use of an extensive biography, apparently well documented, by Fr. Antonio Arana. It is the biography that the Portuguese Fr. Veiga awaited in vain. Unfortunately it has not been discovered, and its great documentary value can only be appreciated through the Lives written by Descamps and Sartolo. In the year 1614, three years before Suárez's death, the most erudite Fr. Nieremberg entered the Society, who makes a great eulogy of Suárez's virtues in his *Varones ilustres de la Compañía* VII pp. 134–138. Ribadeneira, in his Illustrium Scriptorum Soc. Iesu, makes in 1608 a fine eulogy of Suárez, which Alegambe expands in his *Bibliotheca* (1642). These are the contemporary writers whose pens carried the fame of Suárez's virtues through all the Christian countries.

28.—But alongside the biographical accounts there spread portraits of Suárez with laudatory legends of his sanctity, which spoke to the faith of the simple people of an illustrious saint who had lived among books. The great patrician of Lyons, Horace Cardon, arranged for a good painter, disguised among the servants, to portray the great theologian as he passed through Lyons in 1605. Suárez obtained at least that the portrait should not be published during his lifetime, but it began to be reproduced on the title pages of the many Lyons editions from 1618. In that same year, using another similar stratagem, Philip III's favourite, the Duke of Lerma, had two of the best painters of Madrid make two further portraits. With Suárez at the point of death, and without his becoming aware of it, they did the same at Lisbon shortly before his death on 25 September 1617. From these portraits numer-

ous copies were made within and outside the Iberian Peninsula. On the picture of the college of St. Ambrose one reads in the oval:

> "The Venerable Father Francisco Suárez of the Society of Jesus, distinguished for virtues and wisdom. Defender of the Catholic Faith against James, King of England, whom Paul V named Doctor Eximius and Alexander VII Doctor of the Higher Sphere. He taught Theology in this College. So he himself, bk. 8 *de Aug.* ch. 4, no. 41".

The picture represents him with his eyes fixed on the Crucifix which he has upon his table.

30.—In the General Hall of the Royal College of Salamanca there is a mural picture of Suárez, to whom the Virgin appears, illuminating him with a ray of light while he gazes at the Crucifix. Below, it bears this cartouche:

> "The V. P. Francisco Suárez of the Society of Jesus, a prodigy in virtue and letters, a perfect model of humility and modesty. Singular chaplain of Mary Most Holy. Angel of purity, defender of the faith, whom Paul V called Dr. Eximius, the acclamation of the wise, common Master of the World. Valladolid, Salamanca, Alcalá, Rome and Coimbra acclaimed him living, and in 26 great volumes of his writings posterity shall acclaim him: Granada gave him to the world; Lisbon gave him to heaven, on 25 September 1617, at the age of 70".

The crucifix of Fr. Suárez's "illuminations" was a gift of the Countess of Sta. Gadea, wife of the *adelantado* of Castile and mother of Fr. Padilla, renowned for his virtue and learning (*Descamps* V 28 p. 589; VI 15 p. 700).

31.—A portrait preserved at Innsbruck until the Nazi persecution, apparently of German provenance, published in a collection by various German professors (Seix, Grabmann, Hatheyer, Iuanen, Biederlak), *F. Franz Suárez S. J. Gedenkblätter zu s. 300. Todestag*, Innsbruck (1917), bears this inscription:

> "R. P. Francisco Suárez, of Granada, of the Society of Jesus, eximious for piety and doctrine, died at Lisbon on 25 September in the year of salvation 1617, aged 70".

32.—Sartolo illustrated his biography of Suárez with an engraving by Mathias Arriaga. Suárez, standing and illumined by the Holy Christ, triumphs over James of England. The cartouche at the foot calls him "a miracle of Wisdom and Sanctity, who, caught up into the air, was seen to receive most brilliant rays from this Holy Crucifix. He sighed for martyrdom among the

flames (...), he illustrated and defended the Church, he merited the admiration and the praises of Pontiffs, Kings, Cardinals, Bishops and of all the wise". In a garland various eulogies are repeated, along with the words he pronounced on hearing that the *Defensio Fidei* had been condemned to the flames in London: "Alas for me, that it is not permitted thy master to go [with thee]" (that is to say, to the flames of martyrdom).

33.—Very similar to Arriaga's engraving is that of the Valencia theses (3 July 1696) denounced to the Inquisition of Valencia by Fr. Miguel Gonsalvo (Bibl. Nacional-Inquisición, legajo 4467, n.º 3). Such plates must have been frequent. One of them, cut out from a sheet of theses as a print, was the occasion of the marvellous favour held to be a miracle, as Sartolo relates, bk. IV c. 26 p. 441. The case was attested by the Bishop of Vich and the dignitaries of the Seo of Manresa. Connected likewise with the painting of a picture of Suárez is another marvellous case related by Descamps as having occurred at the end of 1671 to the consultor of the Holy Office, Doctor in Theology, the priest Juan Girau, known to Descamps himself, who, having received the viaticum on account of a chronic pulmonary illness, promised to have a picture of Suárez painted, and was cured the following night.

1. Before the suppression of the Society

34.—The documents so far reviewed formed, within the Society of Jesus and outside it, the post-contemporary tradition concerning Suárez's sanctity. From these and from oral tradition there sprang, in the last third of the seventeenth century, when the contemporaries of the servant of God had disappeared, an important hagiographical Suarezian literature, whose representatives are Frs. Descamps and Sartolo in Spain and Fr. Massei in Italy. To the literature about Suárez there were joined portraits and pious engravings of him. The Jansenist attacks against the Society of Jesus, which in their measure affected Fr. Suárez also, stimulated still further his study and defence.

35.—The Suarezian tradition of this period is distinguished by the spontaneity of its monuments. Descamps at first intended to make a summary based on Nieremberg's biography; but incidentally he obtained a copy of the Ms. of Fr. Arana, which was sent to him from the college of Valladolid. Later he settled on Freire's Latin *Vita*; afterwards he managed to obtain a transcript of Valdivia's biography. He put himself in communication with Suárez's nephew, Don Juan Suárez de Toledo y Obregón, who provided him

with a full and exact genealogical study. He obtained information from the assistant for Portugal, Fr. Gouvea, and took information also from Alegambe. Besides, being fired with enthusiasm for Suárez, he came to know of various extraordinary or miraculous favours; and with all this, interspersed with long and continuous moral considerations, he composed his great biography in 8 books. The author deserves credit in his account of the facts verifiable by documents still preserved. Fr. Veiga's life did not come into his hands. His work consists of two volumes, of which the second is dedicated to the heroic virtues and sanctity of Suárez, set forth with a great panegyrical apparatus. The work was published at Perpiñán in 1671.

36.—Sartolo, Professor of the college of the Society at Salamanca, published in 1693 his Suarezian biography, less diffuse in its eulogies and more closely confined to Suárez, drawing upon the same sources as Descamps, whom he does not cite, although he undoubtedly uses him, adding for his own part documents of importance. It is a biography worthy of credit, with Descamps's defects lessened.

37.—The biographies of Descamps and Sartolo, above all the first, had imitations and compendia: in Italy, the *Vita del venerabile Servo di Dio ed eximio teologo P. Francesco Suarez S. I.* by Massei, Roma (1687). In Poland, Fr. Stettinger, Graz (1673). In France, Frs. Segnier (after 1693) and Jouvancy (before 1719) left manuscript biographies, as did A. Abad in Spanish (1748). The publication of these lives, which fix almost exclusively upon the heroic virtues of the pious theologian, corresponded, in popular piety, to the numerous re-editions of the scientific works of the Doctor Eximius.

38.—Among the distinguished devotees of Fr. Suárez there must be counted, in France, St. John Eudes, who enumerates Suárez first among the twelve apostles of the Heart of Mary, saying: "I can affirm without fear of exaggeration that this illustrious man was an abyss of learning and a prodigy of piety" (*Le coeur admirable* VII 3 § 1,-7, p. 311).

39.—Somewhat later, Fr. Idiáquez, one of the first promoters of devotion to the Sacred Heart of Jesus in Spain, devotes an ample chapter to Suárez as one of the most renowned precursors of this devotion.

40.—Together with the biographers we must count the notes or copies of Suarezian documents transcribed by Fr. Burriel, one of the initiators of Spanish ecclesiastical historiography, an authority accredited in his transcriptions of sources.

2. In the restored Society

41.—The suppression of the Society, and the upheavals that followed upon the French Revolution, had their repercussions on the normal development of the fame of Suárez's sanctity. The Jansenists and enemies of the Society sought to discredit him especially on account of the probabilism he followed in his moral works. But the most disastrous effect was that of the dispersal of all his writings and the irreparable loss of the greater part of them.

42.—Ordinarily the communities of the restored Society found themselves deprived of their old archives. In the great libraries Suárez's works were preserved along with Fr. Freire's Latin *Vita*. Slowly, by a process of spontaneous rehabilitation, the memory of Suárez was restored.

To this period belong the biography and opuscule edited by Mgr. Malou, Bishop of Bruges (1859); the re-edition of the works by André and Berton in 26 volumes (1855–1861), with the two volumes of indices published later; the biography and Suarezian studies of Karl Werner, Regensburg (1861); a discourse of Simonet (1878) on "the venerable Fr. Francisco Suárez". In the last two decades of the nineteenth century the systematization of his study followed upon the spontaneous restoration of Suárez.

43.—The impulse given in France to the publication of Suarezian studies awakened in Fr. Raoul de Scorraille, about 1878, the desire to publish a documented life. Exiled by the Ferry laws, he succeeded in gathering about him a team of French researchers, and with them he organized study journeys in order to discover slowly the lost holdings of Suarezian documentation. His occasional collaborators up to 1895 were Frs. Ferd, Prat, Cros, Ichard, Cadenat, Sommervogel, Hurter and others, such as the Portuguese Fr. Da Cunha, the professor Sánchez Moguel, and the staff of the writers of the *Monumenta Ignatiana*, with other Spanish Fathers. Towards 1885 Fr. E. Riviere, a distinguished bibliophile, began to work, and in 30 years of research assembled an imposing Suarezian documentation. With these aids Fr. Scorraille composed his great work *François Suárez* in two good volumes, of which the first studies the student and the professor, and the second the Doctor and the religious. Suárez's historical and intimate profile now stands documentarily fixed in Scorraille. The solidity of Suárez's heroic virtues proves invulnerable, in spite of the somewhat sensitive character which the author recognizes in his subject. Fr. Scorraille's work, solidly built upon an immense documentation, has increased in its readers the conviction that Suárez lived a life exemplary in the highest degree of sanctity. This is the thesis of Suárez's sanc-

tity, defended by the biographers of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and vindicated documentarily by a group of renowned French researchers directed by Fr. Raoul de Scorraille. Scorraille's team of researchers slowly established the principal documentary holdings of Suárez gathered in Archives and Libraries, beginning with Madrid: National Library, National Historical Archive, Academy of History, Chamartín, Library of the Central University; Salamanca, Library of the University — Simancas — Archive. Granada: Archive of Sacromonte, Library of the University. Archive of "Loyola". In Rome: Vatican Library, Library of the Gregorian University, Roman Archive Soc. Iesu. Lisbon: National Library, Torre de Tombo, Library of Ajuda. Evora: public library. Coimbra: Library of the University. Later, other important holdings have been found at Valladolid, Munich and Rome, to say nothing of loose documents scattered in various countries.

46.—This systematic movement of research found a notable imitator in the professor of the Faculty of Theology of Coimbra, A. Gracia Ribeiro de Vasconcellos, who in 1897 published a magnificently documented work on the life and virtues of Suárez, especially in his teaching at Coimbra, fourteen years before Scorraille's *François Suárez*.

D.—The sanctity of Suárez before modern criticism

1.—In the Society of Jesus

47.—The attitude adopted by the Society at various periods and in various regions towards Suárez, as towards other illustrious figures of the Order, constitutes a complex phenomenon. We shall speak of it again, but it is important to observe that this attitude is a function of the general currents that prevail in the religious sphere within the Church, and in the cultural and social sphere of the surrounding environment.

48.—Suárez's doctrine, which in the eighteenth century was considered proper to the Society, began to be disputed in the nineteenth, was combated by not a few at the beginning of the twentieth, and has lately been considered characteristic of the post-Tridentine period, with the various reactions provoked by medieval and Renaissance scholasticism in the modern currents of philosophical-theological thought.

49.—These variations, and the present crisis of general disesteem for the scholastic authors, have not affected Suárez's prestige as a religious of extraordinary sanctity. But not even on this point can one speak of an attitude strictly proper to the Society. It is a reflection of the generalized opinion about Suárez in the Church and of the special resonance which that opinion finds within the Order. Thus, without any fixed plan, and with the permissions due to the Ecclesiastical Authority and to the regular Superiors, particular devotion to the servant of God has spread sporadically, fostered by prints and followed by numerous extraordinary graces, which without any systematic plan have been published in the local press of one city or another. This movement has arisen spontaneously in the Residence of Santander, in the Faculty of Granada, and at Oña, and in the college of Valladolid and in the Pontifical University of Comillas.

50.—Devotion to Suárez is founded upon writings predominantly scientific by Jesuit Fathers, centred on the two centenary commemorations of 1917 (third centenary of his death) and 1948 (fourth centenary of his birth). The first of these commemorations was organized by the Archbishop of Granada, and the second by the joint agreement of the governments of Spain and Portugal, without the previous knowledge of the Society.

2.—Official commemorations

51.—With the publication of Scorraille's *François Suárez* the first period of Suarezian research came to an end, and there began an unexpected rehabilitation of the Eximious and Pious Theologian. In the year 1917 the first Suarezian congress was celebrated at Granada. Cardinal Gasparri, on 31 Dec. 1916, blessed in the name of Benedict XV the plan of the Suárez Congress:

> "Than which indeed nothing is more equitable, nothing more useful: for since it is the office of justice to honour the memory of those who have brought no small advantage to the religious name and to human society, no one fails to see how greatly such acts avail both for fostering the spirit of piety and for the further advancement of the sciences, when they are solemnly performed for the virtues of the most excellent of men".

52.—Later, on 1 Sept. 1917, Gasparri wrote that "His Holiness will see with great satisfaction that Suárez's indisputable merits in the sociological, apologetic and especially juridical field (...) be brought into evidence, and that

it be shown how much profit can be drawn from them for restoring to the world order and peace". With these pontifical indications, Suárez's juridical-social thought was placed in the foreground, as the representation of Christian juridical thought. Once again Paul V's posthumous eulogy of Suárez was renewed: "for we know how much your authority avails for rooting out the tares" (25 August 1617).

53.—These orientations from Rome had a positive efficacy with regard to the person of Suárez, without settling for the moment the integral problem of the Doctor Eximius, whose glories were positively limited in certain philosophical theses, according to the 24 Thomistic theses, by some interpreters of St. Thomas. These frictions, which may be seen in *Rivista de Filosofia Neo-Scolastica* 10 (1918) (*Scritti vari publicati in occasione del III centenario della morte di Francesco Suárez per cura del Profe. Agostino Gemelli O.F.M.*), did not affect in the least the distinguished reputation of the sanctity of the Servant of God, and even the internal differences of the schools were left relegated to their true position by the will of the Popes, by the force of things, and by the balanced studies of Suarezians and non-Suarezians, as may be seen in Gemelli himself, *Il Centenario di Fr. Suárez*, Riv. de Fil. Neo-Scol. 9 (1917) 347–356. In the very article of *La ciencia Tomista* which conditioned or limited adherence to the homage to Suárez, phrases like these are to be read: "It never crossed our mind that those refutations (of ours) could be an obstacle to a glorification (of Suárez) upon earth" (...) "Suárez being a glory of the Society of Jesus, he is one of the Catholic Church as well, that great house in which we are all saved, and he is so especially of the religious life, which is our life" (...) "For the Order of St. Dominic he had, even in his days of struggle with certain Dominicans, enthusiastic and highly laudatory phrases, without there being any memory — so far as I know — of any inconsiderate one" (A. Getino, *El centenario de Suárez*, La ciencia Tomista 15 (1917) 381–282).

55.—At the Granada Congress the Minister of Public Instruction, Sr. Andrade, unveiled in the name of the King of Spain and of the Government a commemorative plaque with this inscription: "To the V. P. Francisco Suárez S. I. Illustrious Granadan, philosopher, theologian, jurist and distinguished apologist, more distinguished still for his virtues (...)". There were present the Nuncio of His Holiness, the official Commission of Portugal, together with other official commissions of England and of France and the delegate of Germany, besides representations of the Universities of Coimbra and of Trento and of other Spanish universities and academies, among which stood out the

French group of Scorraille, Riviere and Dudon, the restorers of Suárez's person and fame.

56.—This congress and other homages celebrated at Barcelona, in Italy and elsewhere gave immediate prominence to Suárez the jurist, the International Vitoria Suárez Society being founded, attached to the *Institut de Droit International*. Other activities of greater moment, of slower but more lasting and firmer crystallization, were taking shape about that same period. The initial period and the systematization of Suarezian research, begun in France, have been completed in Germany and in Spain. Prof. Stegmüller crowned with his discoveries of Suarezian Mss. at Olmutz the indications of Suarezian Mss. at Karlsruhe established by Riviére; with the new holdings of the Vittorio Emmanuele Library, Spanish researchers have integrated Suárez's theological explanations at Valladolid and at Rome; and finally other discoveries at Valladolid, at Munich and at Coimbra have doubled, in these thirty years, the imposing quantity of Suarezian Mss. discovered by Scorraille's French team.

57.—The sum of all the Suarezian Mss. found may be reckoned as a third part of the French edition of Vivés, made up of 26 great volumes. The labour of the new researches has been crowned, among other Suarezian works carried out, around the second official commemoration of the Servant of God, organized on the exclusive initiative of the Governments of Spain and Portugal in the year 1948, the fourth centenary of Suárez's birth. Among the motives invoked in the official Decree of 30 January 1948, there prevails the desire to arrive at man's complete submission to God: "In the submission of all — princes and vassals — to the supreme authority, Suárez lays the cornerstone of the world, as if a providential voice dictated to him, prophetically, what was to be, through the most unsuspected courses of history, the ultimate reason of the coexistence of men and of the enduring understanding among peoples".

58.—The Patronage of Honour was formed of the Ministers of Foreign Affairs, of Justice and of National Education, the Primate of Toledo, the Archbishops of Granada and Valladolid, the Bishops of Segovia and Salamanca, and the Ambassador of Portugal. Under the presidency of the Minister of National Education, Don José Ibáñez Martín, a further Executive Committee was formed. Among the active participants there were numerous commissions, besides Spaniards and Portuguese, of French, Germans, Belgians and English.

59.—At the acts held at Granada, the Archbishop, the Most Excellent Sr. D. Balbino Santos y Oliveira (17-IV-1948), spoke in the Cathedral, delivering during the pontifical Mass the "eulogy of the virtuous and holy man", saying

by way of preamble to his virtues: "You may indeed, in your praiseworthy and edifying endeavour — men of science who hear me — devise and organize homages, set up commemorative plaques, hold academic acts, raise monuments in honour of the wise Jesuit; the best monument — *aere perennius* — would be, simply, to raise him an altar, thereby elevating him to the highest honours which the Catholic Church grants after death to her sons, and which are the greatest and most estimable among all human things. It is certainly not in our hands to raise that altar or to proclaim sanctities officially; but leaving now to the inscrutable designs of Providence and to the unappealable judgment of the Supreme Authority of the Church, we can indeed, in our own case and with divine favour, attempt to set forth — if only schematically — the titles, merits and foundations upon which such sanctity in Suárez rests" (*Actas del IV Centenario* I p. 31).

60.—The Suarezian caravan begun at Granada passed through Madrid. The Most Excellent Sr. Patriarch of the Indies, Bishop of Madrid-Alcalá, took part in the homages, setting forth ideas similar to those he wrote as prologue to the volume of *Estudios Eclesiásticos* dedicated to Suárez, where he justifies the reasons that moved the foundation of the *Instituto Francisco Suárez* within the Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, recalling the piety characteristic of his writings and of his person. And this also on account of his distinguished piety, indispensable in the cultivator of sacred things (... serene and sure, eximious and pious even at the moment of his death): "I would never have believed that dying could be so sweet" (*Estudios ecles.* 22 (1948) p. 150). At Segovia the Bishop of the Diocese, Dr. Llorente, spoke of his sanctity.

On his passage through Salamanca, on 26 October, funeral honours were celebrated at the Mass pontificated by the Bishop of the diocese, the Most Excellent Sr. Barbado O. P. The discourse delivered by the Most Excellent Bishop of Calahorra, Dr. D. Fidel García Martínez, begins thus: "It is not precisely the wisdom of the exemplary religious, but the edifying exemplarity of the wise man, that has gathered us on this occasion and in this temple. For it is above all virtue that counts in this place" (*Actas del IV Centenario* I 55).

> "This learning has been the circumstance or determining element that has set upon that virtue of the wise man characteristics, modalities and exemplarities so typical that by them he can be presented to us as a magnificent model of man's activity in the intelligence..." (*L.c.*) "Among these preparatory dispositions in the soul (...) there is one of special necessity and importance which, in a certain way, sums up all the rest, and which I would call the *sense of responsibility*. Of this sense

> in spirits of their responsibility before the truth; a sense which is *love*, which is devotion, which is respect for the truth; which is a tendency always living, pure and straight towards the truth; which is jealous *custody* of the truth, which stoops to gather up and keep every crumb of it, however small, because it is a crumb of a bread of life; which is *apostolate* of the truth: of that sense, I say, Suárez has left us, more by his deeds than by his words, an exemplary model" (*L.c.* p. 56). "The purity of life, the simplicity, the humility, the rectitude of intention, the virtue of the exemplary religious which shine forth in the whole biography of Suárez, and which have earned him the title with which Paul V honoured him, not only of Doctor Eximius but also of pious — *Theologi Eximi et Pii* — made him a worthy minister and doctor of the truth" (p. 57). "Even in courtesy Suárez was a finished model. In his writings there is no personal, injurious or contemptuous attack against an adversary, notwithstanding that he himself was attacked with some vehemence by certain of his own brethren in religion" (p. 60).

In other cathedral churches the Bishops of the respective dioceses, as at Guarda (Portugal) and at Segovia, spoke in similar terms of eulogy. The Most Excellent Sr. Archbishop of Burgos, Dr. D. Luciano Platero, published on 3 January 1949 a pastoral Letter of exhortation for the members of Catholic Action, presenting Suárez as a model of it, in the exemplarity of heroic obedience to the Roman Pontiff and in every virtue; for "admirable, astonishing, Suárez shows himself to us for his erudition, for his doctrine, for his fecundity, for his talent. But he shows himself to us no less colossal for his virtue (...). Suárez did not set the mark lower as a saint than as a wise man" (p. 55). "His well-earned merits are comprehensively summed up, and endorsed with his prestige, by the distinguished Dominican Paulino Bernardini, with whose testimony we are pleased to close the present letter: 'I ingenuously confess that it is embarrassing to determine whether Fr. Francisco Suárez claims the admiration of the Christian World preferably for his heroic exercise of the virtues, or rather for the depth and loftiness of his wisdom...'" (p. 62).

The Pontifical University of Comillas wished, for its part, to commemorate with splendour the centenary feasts of 1948. The works published on this occasion are preceded by the discourse of the then Nuncio of His Holiness, His Eminence Cicognani, cited before, from which we extract a few further lines:

> "At the summit of his old age (...) he was able to give this testimony of his own conscience: 'This was always the aim of my labours, that God might be known by men more, and worshipped more ardently and more holily' (*De Religione*,

proemiun ed. Vives 13, 1). It is the *bonum certamen certavi* of St. Paul (*Miscelánea Comillas* (1948) 9)".

After enumerating the principal works, Grabmann's judgment on the *Disputationes metaphysicae*, an epitaph and two foundations of university chairs in honour of Suárez, Cardinal Cicognani comments on the title by which the Church knows Suárez:

> "His special title in the history of Theology is that of *Doctor Eximius et Pius*. Numerous testimonies of contemporaries and of historians affirm, or else put in dispute, whether he was more holy than wise. '*A multis vocatus in dubium est, doctior ne esset Suárez an sanctior*', writes the authoritative and solemn Hurter (...)" (p. 17). "On reading the life of Fr. Suárez, as of all the great thinkers, our spirit rejoices in contemplating the laborious and mortified student, the master who teaches the mysteries of the faith, investigated in meditation and in work, the writer who opens new paths and gives luminous solutions to disquieting problems; but deeper still is the joy of our soul when, in an atmosphere of serenity and quiet, we read the life of the Religious — that is, his intimate life — and imitate those disciples of his who, with affectionate veneration, importunate for Suárez's humility, sought to satisfy the holy curiosity of seeing how the sublime virtue of the religious corresponded to the prodigious learning of the master" (p. 18).

The same theme was discussed in the inaugural discourse of the Bishop of Santander, the Most Excellent and Rev. Sr. Eguino y Trecu, on "Suárez saint and wise", who described Suárez as "saint and wise in one piece. A man who carries in his right hand the torch of sanctity that *burns*, and in his left the torch of the learning that *shines*. The *coepit facere et docere* which the Gospel says of Jesus Christ can be said of Suárez too. He is a most finished model for you, most beloved seminarians" (*L.c.* p. 29).

In the Comillas commemorations the theme discussed in the year 1917 concerning the relations between St. Thomas and Suárez was taken up again. The Rector of the University, R. P. Baeza, affirmed: "we are sincerely persuaded that in honouring Suárez we honour St. Thomas" (*L.c.* p. 42). On the same theme spoke the Most Excellent Sr. D. Fidel García Martínez, Bishop of Calahorra, author of various publications on this matter. He spoke of it in *Miscel. Comillas* t. IV, pp. 34–38, later in Pensamiento (1947), and afterwards in Razón y Fe 151 (1955) 117–132 and Arbor 31 (1955) 381–416, summing up his criterion in a separate opuscule: *De L'authenticité d'une Philosophie á l'interieur de la pensée chrétienne*, Oña (1955). The opuscule

ends with an appendix in which is gathered the definitive interpretation of Pius XII of can. 1366 § 2, in the allocution to the Gregorian University (AAS 45 (1955) 682–690). Mgr. García Martínez's opuscule has been accepted by a distinguished Thomist, Prof. F. van Steenberghen, with the greatest praises, which end with this observation:

> "For St. Thomas, every created being is really composed of *essentia* and *esse*; this is a central thesis of his metaphysics and of his theology. Nevertheless, this is evidently not a 'principle' but a 'conclusion'; and one may admit the 'principles' and the general 'method' of St. Thomas, as also his 'essential conclusions' (in the sense defined by Mgr. Martínez), without seeing that the doctrine of real composition follows necessarily from his principles. In any case, those who perceive the importance of this doctrine (and we are among them) must not, 'for want of better arguments, seek to impose it by recourse to the authority of the Church, even at the risk of compromising the latter' (p. 47, note 49) Revue Philos. de Louvain 54 (1956) 326. For the rest, the professor of Louvain thinks with St. Thomas that 'the aim of philosophy is not to know what men have thought — even if those men are called Thomas Aquinas, Cajetan or Suárez — but what *the truth* is about the real'" (*L'avenir du thomisme* l.c. p. 217).

The discussions about the scope of the Suarezian commemorations closed in this way. Upon the official commemoration others followed. The Luis Vives Institute of Philosophy held another congress in honour of Balmes and of Suárez in that same year 1948, publishing three great volumes of studies. The Suarezian centenary was also commemorated in the Universities of Zaragoza, Salamanca and Valladolid. The Seminary of Astorga devoted several acts to Suárez, one of them on Suárez as man, religious and doctor. The Faculties of Theology of Granada, that of Philosophy of Chamartín, the Peruvian Institute of Hispanic Culture and the University of Zikawei (China) held series of lectures. The University of Valladolid unveiled a plaque with the following inscription:

> To the Venerable Father Francisco Suárez,
> Distinguished for Virtues and Wisdom,
> Defender of the Catholic Faith, Definer of
> the Law of Nations, Lecturer in Theology
> in the College of Valladolid, of St. Ambrose,
> Whom Paul V and Alexander VII named
> Doctor Eximius. The University of

Valladolid gave, dedicated, devoted this

MDXLVIII — MCMXLVIII

The centenary commemorations of 1948 have given to the figure of Suárez, so far as is humanly possible — barring the official declaration of the Church — all the fame of sanctity that a man can attain historically, with the peculiar feature that his sanctity is that of an eminent wise man in the elaboration of concepts and doctrines of the gravest necessity and urgency for the Church and for Society.

The effect of these commemorations has been the creation of the International Francisco Suárez Society, with its seat in the University of Coimbra, under the Honorary Presidency of the Heads of State of Spain and Portugal, and with members — besides several members of both Governments — who are outstanding personalities of the Church and of the Sciences from all over the world. At the closing session of 31 October 1948, in the presence of the Ministers of both Governments and of the member representatives of the Spanish and Portuguese Universities, of the representatives of the Gregorian University of Rome (Fr. Abellán), the Rector Magnificus of Bologna (Prof. Battaglia), Paris (Prof. Sibert), Oxford (Prof. Brierly), Tiulouse (Fr. Cavallera), the President of the Society of Louvain (Prof. Mariaux, Onclin, Jannsens, de Moreau, etc.), German philosophers (Prof. Rintelen), representatives of the Suarezian Association of the Argentine Republic (Prof. Dell'Orro Maini), etc., in the third and last conclusion, "those present cast their votes for the prompt declaration of the heroic virtues of the Doctor Eximius" (*Actas* II p. 427).

Subsequently twelve Archbishops and Bishops have given their names to the International Association, very especially on account of the spiritual importance of Suárez and of his glorification (*Actas* II p. 429). The International Association is founding various sections. The first was the Historical-Juridical Suarezian Institute of Burgos and Bilbao, which has organized courses for post-graduates annually since its foundation in 1951. Under the Patronage of the Suarezian Association, the Archbishop of Valladolid has created the Institute of the Sacred Heart, whose various sections of Theology and of Pastoral Action are being organized with the aim of realizing in society, by means of publications and consecrations, the great Suarezian principles of the dominion of Christ over men. Among other activities, the representation of the Society in America has organized its juridical-doctrinal activities at the ONU.

3.—The existing documentation

A. Searches carried out

Suárez's fame of sanctity has been growing and spreading at the same rhythm as the discoveries of documentation relating to his life. In recounting the history of his sanctity we have indicated the nature of that documentation. In a brief scheme the said documents may be catalogued in the following form:

a) By contemporary writers:

Biographers:

Ribadeneira, Pedro, born 1.11.1526. Died 22.9.1611. Cf. *supra* n. 27.

Alegambe, born at Brussels 11.1.1592, continuator of Ribadeneira, wrote the *Bibliotheca Script. Sociatis Iesu*. Cf. n. 27.

Veiga Freire, Juan, born in 1582. Died 25.7.1620. Cf. n. 25.42. Cf. 24.35. For his *Relação*, see Elorduy in *Misc. Comillas* XIV (1950) 201–263.

Valdivia, Luis, born in the year 1561 at Granada. Died 5.11.1542. Cf. n. 27.

Nieremberg, E., born in 1595 at Madrid. Died 7.4.1658. Cf. n. 27.

Arana, Antonio, born in 1588. Died 10.9.1650. Cf. n. 27.

Non-biographers:

Aquaviva, Claudio. Born 14.9.1543. Died 31.1.1615. Cf. n. 27.

Vázquez, Gabriel. Born about 1550. Died 23.9.1604. Cf. n. 6–7.

Gouvea Morin, Editor of the Annual Letters. Cf. n. 18.

Paul V. The evaluation of the testimonies of Paul V concerning Suárez constitutes, as we have seen, the central theme of the biographers, portraitists and admirers of the Servant of God. It is a pontifical eulogy which the Church has received at its true value, as we have seen in the words of Card. Cicognani. See his briefs in Scorraille II, appendix VIII. Cf. n. 16.

Borghese. Cardinal Secretary of Paul V. Cf. n. 10.

Accoramboni, Apostolic Collector of Lisbon. Cf. n. 14.15.

Abreu, Rector of Lisbon and confessor of Suárez. Cf. n. 19.

Br. Gerónimo Silva. Cf. nn. 20.22.

Menologies. Cf. n. 23.

Philip II. Cf. n. 12.

Castello Branco. Cf. n. 11.

Da Cunha. Cf. n. 11.

Gil González Dávila, born 1575 (?); died 1658. In writing of "the illustrious men whom (the college of the Society of Salamanca) has had in letters and in sanctity", he devotes the most extensive eulogy to Suárez, saying: "Another was Doctor Francisco Suárez, a native of Granada. I do not know in which he was the greater, in his life or in his letters, for in both he was great. His Religion sent him to Rome, to read Theology in the Roman College which Gregory XIII had just built. The first hearer he had at his first lecture was the Pontiff himself (I bear witness of this, for I found myself present at the event, and I heard the lecture he read). He came to Spain, and Philip the Third sent him to read at Coimbra the Prime Chair of Theology. Paul V wrote him several letters at this time, thanking him for the services he had rendered to the Roman Church: in one of them he gives him the Title of Doctor Eximius. He died at Lisbon as a wise man and as a saint; and he is buried in the Professed House of his Religion. He left in print 11 volumes of Theology, two of Metaphysics, and nine others ready, which are being printed. In the one he wrote in defence of the Faith against the King of England, the Author surpassed himself, so that there is nothing more to desire" (*Teatro eclesiástico de la S. Iglesia de Salamanca*, p. 339. 340). Gregory XIII visited Suárez's class on 23 July 1583, as appears from a Ms. of Suárez's lectures *De Fide*, which notes it in the margin, on the day of St. Apollinaris. "The first hearer" is not to be understood chronologically, but in dignity. We do not know whether the Pope heard Suárez more than once. Those were the years in which the Roman College was being built. The portraits preserved are directly or indirectly a testimony of the period. Cf. n. 28–33.

b) By post-contemporary writers

Biographers:

The fundamental biography of this period is that of *Descamps*, published at Perpiñán in the year 1672, in a redundant style but copiously documented and truthful. We have touched upon its characteristics in nn. 2.8.34.35. Of particular interest in Descamps's work are the 18 chapters of the Sixth Part, due to his own personal searches. It treats "of the human and divine testimonies to his wisdom and sanctity; of the glory and honour which God has given him on earth and in heaven; and of the marvellous and miraculous cases he has wrought through his intercession" (pp. 600–727). It begins with the testimonies of Pontiffs and kings (ch. 1), of Cardinals, Archbishops and Bishops (ch. 2+3), illustrious men and writers

(ch. 4), religious of various Orders (ch. 5), testimonies of Jesuits (ch. 6): eulogies of other persons (ch. 7); visions concerning Suárez's future (not proximate) glory (ch. 8-9-10).

Sartolo. He depends on Descamps, but adds important data from his own research. He is likewise of authority for his documentation and veracity. Cf. nn. 32. 36.

Sartolo and Descamps are properly investigators of Suárez's life. Nothing is added to them by the biographers previous to the suppression: Nassei (nn. 3-34-37), Segnier (n. 37), Stettinger (n. 37), Abad (n. 37), Jouvency (n. 37).

Non-biographers:

Among the illustrious testimonies to Suárez's sanctity there figure St. John Eudes (n. 38) and Fr. Idiaquez (n. 39). The Valencia theses are another public testimony to the sanctity of the Servant of God (n. 33). Among the most eminent investigators there must be numbered, for the notable document of the Duke of Escalona and others on the same matter of confession at a distance, Fr. Andrés Burriel: his principal document runs thus, referring to the Duke of Escalona and Suárez:

"I had this copy made from another, which is among the papers and minutes original to the Duke of Escalona, Marquis of Villena, Ambassador for Spain at Rome at the time when it was drawn up.

And I certify that on the same paper on which the copy of the said decree is found, there are on the reverse the following words, written in the Duke Ambassador's own hand, as is proved by comparison with other papers in his hand, which words appear to contain the minute, either so that his secretary might draw up the letter, or so that he himself might have in memory what he had to write: it runs thus:

"Copy this so as to write to him, and say what the Pope told me: That it is not removed as rash, but so as to keep respect for Clement: that nothing of the book is disapproved, rather he approves it and holds it to be suitable: that he has not wished to meddle in reconciling the decrees of Leo and Clement.

These are the formal words which I have faithfully copied from the said paper kept in the said Archive. Escalona, 2 January 1752.

Andrés Burriel"

(signed with his flourish)

The importance of this document appears in all the relief of heroism which it supposes on Suárez's part in the Pastoral Letter of the Archbishop of Burgos, the Most Excellent and Most Rev. Dr. D. Luciano Platero (n. 60).

Finally, to this group belongs the testimony of Alexander VII, which is likewise classic in Suarezian history: "Of Suárez one must not speak: for he

is a doctor of the higher sphere". With this judgment he exempted Suárez from the general prohibition of publishing works on the question *de auxiliis*, on account of the special esteem which the Doctor Eximius deserved of him, whom he reputed as his master.

c) Restoration of Suarezian studies

The restoration of Suarezian studies constitutes a spontaneous series of individual efforts made from the Revolution down to 1880. In this movement must be included Fr. Paúl Guéau de Reversaux (1805–1842), author of a Latin biography which precedes his careful re-edition of the *Tractatus de Religione Soc. Iesu* (1857).

Malou, in the prologue to the *opuscula sex inedita* (1859), after an erudite survey of the works of Fr. Reverseaux, of André and Berton (n. 42), and of the bibliographers, the Backer Fathers, gives a small Suarezian biography, with the data on his professorship somewhat disturbed. In this group of restorers must also be counted the work of K. Werner (n. 42) and the discourse of F. Javier Simonet, *Ciencia Cristiana* VIII (1878). The principal merit of this period is the edition of these unpublished pieces and the re-edition of the *Opera Omnia* of Vivés, with Freire's Latin *Vita* in vol. I (n. 25–42). It is a preparatory period for the future labours, some of them — such as the Suarezian bibliographies of Fr. Sommervogel and that of Fr. Hurter — being a continuation of the earlier ones.

d) Systematic organization

About 1878 the investigations of Fr. Scorraille begin, which broaden and are systematized over thirty years (Cf. nn. 1-43-44-45). For a general judgment of the work one may see the unconditional eulogy which a historian of the Church, Fr. Bernardino Llorca, makes of it (*Est. Eclesiast.* 22 (1948) 593–600). In richness of first-hand documentation, in critical use of the ancient sources, in impartiality in acknowledging certain insignificant blemishes, in the depth of the doctrinal exposition, and finally in the vision of the historical picture in which Suárez moved, it seemed that one could not aspire to a more perfect biography than Scorraille's. His *François Suárez* has confirmed documentarily and for ever the fame of heroic sanctity which Suárez enjoyed — or rather suffered — already in life, and which he confirmed after death.

Scorraille handled three classes of documents for this biography: documents of various authors treating of Suárez or of matters more or less common in which Suárez intervened. Scorraille's team collected, according to an inventory made recently, 431 unpublished Ms. documents of this group. In this group may be counted the documentation of Vasconcellos (n. 46).

The second group of unpublished Mss. handled by Scorraille consists of his letters and the letters or documents addressed to him or which treat almost exclusively of him. The inventory published by Riviere enumerates 208 documents of this kind.

The third group are the printed works: the biographies of all periods (except those of Arana and Veiga), Suárez's printed works and an occasional unpublished piece. To this group may be added more recent works relating to Suárez, such as that of Sánchez Moguel on Suárez's tomb.

Upon the imposing base of this documentation there rises the figure of the Servant of God, which, without the emphasis of Descamps and Sartolo, historically confirms the likeness of the illustrious saint whom they left of Suárez.

e) Present stage

The documentation handled by Scorraille has increased notably with a view to the fame of Suárez's sanctity and to the introduction of his cause. The documentary inventory — 208 numbers in Riviére — now reaches 500. The two great volumes of the *Conselhos y pareceres* and Fr. Veiga's biography have been found and published, fundamental pieces unknown to Scorraille and to Riviére, which have a decisive value for knowing the sanctity of the Servant of God. Among other groups of documents there has been found the dialogue of the Duke of Escalona with Paul V, which gives an unexpected turn to the controversy over confession at a distance.

Moreover, the historical-doctrinal study of Suárez, which in Scorraille's time did not reach a hundred monographs, now passes the thousand mark, listed in the Catalogue of Fr. Mujica (1948) and in the supplement of 1951 in the *Actas* of the IV centenary.

Finally, in doctrines at present under discussion, the pontifical documents are marking out the orientations for Catholics in conformity with Suarezian doctrine. Such is the encyclical *Humani generis*, with whose spirit — traditional and at the same time dynamic and progressive — Suárez's doctrine is wholly identified, and above all the recent condemnation of the *Ethics*

of the situation, an existentialist expression of the Ethics of modernism, whose first refutation is to be found in Suárez's moral works, three centuries and a half in advance (cf. *De actu morali* disp. 1 ss. 2-3; ed. Vivés 4, 279–288).

Recent investigations concerning Suárez arrive at these conclusions:

1.º) The present documentation proves the authenticity of that previously known and confirms the interpretation on which the fame of Suárez's sanctity was based, as systematically set forth by the biographers Freire, Descamps and Sartolo.

2.º) It contributes new documents of great importance, such as those of Veiga (n. 24) and that of the Duke of Escalona (n. p. 28), which confirm the conclusions historically demonstrated by Scorraille concerning Suárez's sanctity.

3.º) It permits a systematic study of Suárez's life and virtues, not only as heroic in the highest degree — a result reached and obtained by Scorraille — but also as suited to fostering, in religious and in cultivated lay people, a life of piety more profound and adapted to the necessities of the modern world.

Scorraille's greyest chapters for Suárez's virtue now turn out to be the most splendid pictures of his prodigious virtues. The document of the Duke of Escalona has served to revise the whole process — painful but fruitful — of Suárez's humiliations. By bearing them patiently, so that the reputation of Clement VIII might suffer no diminution, he made it possible for Paul V to introduce the present discipline of the absolution of penitents. Such was the triumph achieved by the labours and by the prudence of the servant of God. The whole process has been studied recently (Cf. E. Elorduy, Suárez en las controversias sobre la confesión epistolar, in Arch. Teológico Granadino 15 (1952) 215–292).

Another grey chapter is that of the relations between Vázquez and Suárez. Scorraille did not sufficiently analyse the documents he possessed on this point (cf. *François Suárez*, lib. II chap. 5). It was not merely a matter of doctrinal frictions, which both theologians tried to overcome and did overcome as good religious. Vázquez saw in Suárez an innovator of little solidity, though not dangerous. But Suárez saw in Vázquez a meddlesome critic. Vázquez's fundamental accusations were directed against the margin of divine acceptation of good works and the greater or lesser imputability of evil ones, which Suárez established in the true relations of justice between God and men (Scorraille vol. II, append. I pp. 479–481), attributing to him without reserve that "the proposition that a man can be in grace and in sin is held by some of Ours, and by Fr. Francisco Suárez" (Vázquez to Hojeda, 20 June 1601).

Suárez, for his part, believes that Vázquez places "in God's will a manner of willing so natural (*that is to say, so necessary and physical*) that it leaves him no room to call it moral in any way" (*Scorraille* l.c. p. 482). Suárez's mind is that God can act physically and morally upon men. His doctrine on grace and sin is treated in the work *De gratia* VII, cop. 20 n. 33. The doctrine on God as author of a moral order to which man must submissively incorporate himself is opposed to all the forms of modernism, which limit God's action to the physical order. Hence the aversion of the modernists to Suárez (cf. Enciclop. *Espasa* v. Modernismo t. 35, p. 1.242. P. Isla; S. J. *Errores modernistas y doctrina de Suárez sobre Jesucristo*, in *Conmemoración del III Centenario de Suárez en Barcelona* pp. 111–145).

From the doctrine of God as author of the moral order Suárez passed to other important doctrines. Such is his Pauline exegesis of the justice of God and of congruism. Within that order the distinction between vinculative and affective love in God and in men has meaning against Baius; with vinculative love he illuminated the dogma of God as unifier, the basis of society and of Law. The great themes of the Areopagite and of St. Augustine, which St. Thomas had already commented on together with Aristotle, form in the Suarezian synthesis a world of realities whose meditation is necessary to modern man, and they are the object of study in Suarezian publications and circles. Scorraille was not able to appreciate the significance of an observation of Fr. C. Mindor, S. J.: the *terminum moralitatis* "which Aristotle first established and St. Thomas expressly approved, which Scotus afterwards further developed, and which Suárez defined and established in the highest degree" (*Antonianum* 2 (1927) p. 482).

Suárez's virtues develop within this doctrinal atmosphere which, illumined by the Holy Spirit, it fell to him to unfold in Christian Philosophy and in Theology. On their account Alexander VII was able to call him *Doctor Superioris spherae*. Only by a heroic exercise of all the theological and cardinal virtues could he bring to a happy conclusion, after the humiliation of the condemnations of Clement VIII, the process concerning confession, down to the victory of the present discipline. As much may be said of the framework of God's justice, the basis of all human-divine relations, upon which the moral and social doctrine of Christianity is founded. Here his adversary was his brother in religion, Fr. Gabriel Vázquez. In Suárez's works and copious correspondence there is not a single inconsiderate expression against his doctrinal adversaries. Thanks to that exquisite charity he obtained such triumphs for the Church.

In the doctrine and life of Suárez the exercise of the heroic virtues has an evangelical and Christian character, whose value is appreciated by systematizing sanctity according to the canon of charity and of humility. Suárez's great work springs from the love of God and of neighbour, synthesized in Christ and in His Church. Humility, meekness, purity, the love of justice, the desire that all should know God, devotion to Mary Mediatrix of all graces, are conditions and presupposition of the love of God and of neighbour. Friends and strangers, well-wishers and those who were not, have recognized directly or indirectly that Suárez practised the theological and cardinal virtues according to these canons of evaluation, in a degree seldom seen. His conduct of filial piety towards the Holy See is perhaps unique in history.

B. Documents: Chronological scheme of documents relating to Suárez

1.—Family and childhood

Parents: Ldo. Gaspar de Toledo and D.ª Antonia Vázquez de Utiel. Testimony of Suárez in Ms. 1547, fol. 25. Salamanca Bibliotheca Universitaria. Photocopy in *Miscelanea Comillas* (1948) 56–57.

Birth: 5 January 1548. *Desumptum ex Veiga*, p. 5: "Fr. Francisco Soares was born on the fifth of January 1548". It is the general testimony of the biographers. There is no official document. Cf. Descamps I, c. 4, p. 18; Sartolo I, c. 2; Scorraille I, c. 1).

Baptism: "He was reborn by baptism to the light of grace in the Parish of Santa Escolástica, in which the house of his parents was situated" (Descamps, l.c.p. 19). The church of Santa Escolástica was destroyed in the year 1837. There is preserved "the baptismal register of the Parish church of Santa Escolástica, from the year 1529 to 1541 and from 1555 to 1584" (Scorraille I, 1). It is therefore impossible to obtain the authentic document. Of the fact of the baptism it is impossible to doubt, the family being known. The servant of God had three other brothers — two of them religious — and four sisters, three of them religious. Francisco was tonsured at an early age. The family belonged to the nobility of Castile.

Confirmation: there is no document. The fact is supposed by the first tonsure.

First tonsure: He received the tonsure as a child. In the document of his entrance into the Society Suárez says of himself: "he is of first tonsure". No document is preserved: "he was named by his father to two chaplaincies, of which he was

Patron; and the collation was made for him by Doctor Fonseca, Provisor and Vicar General of Granada, by the most illustrious Lord Don Pedro Guerrero, his Archbishop, on 9 September 1558, at the completed age of ten years" (Descamps l.c. p. 21).

First communion. There is no document. We shall allude later to his ardent love for the Eucharist.

2.—Academic documents

Desumptum ex Archive of the University of Salamanca: Canonists, students and bachelors and some graduates in laws matriculated in this University:

Year 1561, fol. 26, verso: "Saturday, 22 November: Francisco Suárez, native of Granada".

Year 1563, fol. 30 verso: "Friday, 19 November, Francisco Suárez, native of Granada".

Other notices of this period.

Desumptum ex Conselhos a pareceres (1 353): "I remember well that ten years ago I saw a man hanged at Granada on Good Friday, though it was *ad terrorem*, because he had committed the crime the day before with irreverence for the time itself and with public scandal".

Desumptum ex Veiga p. 5–6: "He spent eight years in Latin, in his own country, and three in canons in the Universities of Salamanca, all with little profit". "From the age of five and a half he knew how to read and write, so that he was soon set to letters" (...) "But as these did not meet with good habits, and he was naturally bashful and well disposed, it was easy for divine grace to render him fit for religion".

3.—Official or semi-official documents of the Society

Desumptum ex "Book of old records of those who have been received into the Society in this college of Jesus from the year 1554 to 1589" Ms. 1547 Univ. Salamntic. fol. 25 v. (autographum, cfr. photographiam in *Miscelanea Cimillas* (1948) pp. 56+57): "Brother Francisco Suárez was received into this college by Fr. Juan Suárez, provincial, on 16 June 1564 (...); he had heard four years of grammar and three of canons, not completed (...); he was examined for indifferent and thus he signs with his name on 28 June 1564 (*alia manus posterior*). He made the promise concerning his property. Hernández (rector) - Francisco Suárez".

Desumptum ex Castell. (*Arch. Romanum Soc. Iesu*), *Catal. Breves. Memoria of those who have entered the college of Salamanca since the summer of* 1564: 4.º Brother Francisco Suárez is the son of principal and wealthy parents. His father is the licentiate Gaspar de Toledo, a lawyer at Granada with more than 30 thousand ducats of property. He heard grammar and two and a half years of canons; he is sixteen and a half years old, and of good ability and middling judgment".

Desumptum ex Catalogo Collegi Salmanticensis 1.º *ianuarii* 1565: Brother Francisco Suárez. It is half a year since he entered the Society: he made the vows out of his devotion at three months; from Granada, and before entering the Society he studied canons and now he begins Logic; he is 18 years old" (Cf. Suárez, *de Instituto Soc. Iesu* II c. 4, n. 10).

Desumptum ex Veiga p. 6: *Mis. Comillas* (1948) 216: "He began the course of arts while still a novice, and finished it in little more than a year and a half: at the beginning he did not penetrate the terms, and gave such clear signs of dullness of wit that his fellow-students held him of small account: seeing how little he was profiting, he asked with insistence of the Superiors that they take him from the studies, since he was not fit for them: but not for that did he lose heart".

Desumptum ex Castell. Catalog. brev. 1559–1576 *et Epist.* 1567 (*Arch. Rom. Soc. Iesu*): Francisco Suárez. He is able, virtuous and has health.

Desumptum ex Castell. Catalog. trienn. 1577: "Outstanding in intelligence, judgment and letters and prudence, of very good natural disposition; talent for lecturing and printing and for the ministries in which he may be employed".

Desumptum ex Descamps (I, c. 19, p. 107): "He said his first Mass at the age of twenty-four years and two months, in the same College of Segovia, on 25 March of the said year 1572, the day of the Annunciation of Our Lady (...) A few days after being ordained, the Father Rector had a letter from the Fr. Provincial ordering him to make him confessor and Prefect of all that touches the spirit of all those of the College (...) So Arana, an exact Writer, relates and weighs it in his manuscript life of him".

Desumptum ex libro eorum qui professionem emiserun ab anno 1581: "Jesus Mary. I, Franciscus Soarez, professed of the Society of Jesus, promise to Almighty God (...) in the chapel of the brethren of the aforesaid Roman College, on the 3rd day of June in the year one thousand five hundred and eighty-three. Franciscus Suárez".

Menologe de la Compagnie de Jésus par le P. Elesban Guilhermy, Assistance d'Espagne, 25 September, París (1902) III pp. 131+133.

Menologio de varones ilustres (...) *cuyos aprobados por PP. Generales* (...), Madrid (1729) 25 September, p. 123.

Menologio (...) *di religiosi della Compagnia*, Rome (1840) 25 sett. p. 119 (Ms.)

Annus gloriosus S. J. in Lusitania, by A. Franco, Viena de Austria (1720) 25.ª sept., p. 543.

Desumptum ex epist. secreta Gil González Dávila (*Visitatoris*) *ad P. Aquaviva*, 4 *nov.* 1595: "Having written thus far, I have understood more of the Salamanca affair, and it makes me vehemently suspect that the opinion which goes about, that there is newfangled doctrine at Salamanca and that its author is Fr. Francisco Suárez, is spread by our own men, who see that the said father carries off the approval and the concourse while they make no sound. And if this were so, it would be a great evil: and be it as it may, I cannot put it out of my imagination" (*Arch. Rom. Hispan. Epist.*)

Morim, Francisco, S. J., *Noticia necrológica* (ms.) *desumpta ex* annual letters of the province of Portugal for the year 1617.

4.—Official correspondence of the Superiors with Suárez or about Suárez

It was extraordinary, the esteem which his Superiors had for Suárez's virtue and spirituality. This is proved by the tradition gathered by Arana, Veiga and Freire concerning the special graces with which God favoured him from his admission, the sudden change of his talent, the Mariological triumph obtained in his activity as a university man. All this went about as miraculous graces, guaranteed by visions and prophecies, which are difficult to document historically. But the fact that they made him spiritual director of the community of Segovia at the age of 24 is a most notable sign of confidence and admiration. The undoubted novelty with which Suárez proposed the traditional truths constituted for the Superiors a commitment which placed them in a very delicate position. For this reason two kinds of matters must be distinguished in the correspondence of the Generals with Suárez. In all matters of government they are identified with him. In doctrinal matters they proceed with greater reserve. Nevertheless, the Superiors of the Society did not in the end hesitate to support resolutely the doctrine of the professor whom they so greatly admired for his virtue.

"In the Iberian Peninsula, the most eminent provincials, the three generals under whom he lived his active life as a Jesuit — Everard Mercurian, Aquaviva and Vitelleschi — did not cease to show him, by their words and by their deeds, a particular esteem and benevolence. We have seen them, in the course of this history, on every occasion take up his defence against those who attacked him" (Scorraille VI 2,2).

This general judgment is confirmed by Scorraille with the reprimand and punishment imposed by Fr. Vitelleschi on Fr. Luis Torres for the attacks against Suárez in his *Opúsculos* published in 1624. (Aquaviva to Fr. Luis de la Palma, Provincial, at Madrid, *Desumptum ex Arch. Rom. S. I. Castellana Epist. Gen.* 1622–1630.

a) Mercurian to Suárez

Desumptum ex Arch. Rom. S. I. cod. Castella. Epist. general 73, 74, 75, 76, Everard Mercurian to Suárez: "I have been glad of Your Reverence's letter (...) and of the good account which of Your Reverence I have (...) and Your Reverence has journeyed on account of his solid virtues; I do not doubt but that God our Lord will be much served by it (... from Rome 3 March 1574). *Alia manus, nempe compendium secretarii*: "To be glad of his letter and of the good account which is had of him. And that there is time and *peneserarse*".

Desumptum ex Arch. Rom. S. I. Cod. Castell. Epist. Gener. 1577–1580. Everard Mercurian to Suárez: Two things Your Reverence informs us of (...) We write to the Fr. Visitor what seems to us most fitting in accordance with what Your Reverence proposes to us (...) From Rome 3 July 1579".

In the letters to which the Fr. General refers, Fr. Suárez defends Fr. Bartolomé Pérez (the future provincial) from the treatment of the Fr. Visitor, with other important indications, which the Fr. General accepts.

Desumptum ex Arch. Rom. S. J. cod. Castilla Vieja 1580-1-2-3: Everard Mercurian and Suárez: Your Reverence's letter of 27 April has been received (...) The order has been given to the Father Provincial that with the first convenience he send Your Reverence here to Italy with his companion. Let Your Reverence take care of his health on this journey (... I hope in God our Lord that He will give Your Reverence health and strength for it and for the other labours which he will have to undertake here in his service (...) from Rome 15 June 1580.

Fr. Mercurian wrote two letters to the Provincial of Castile insisting on Suárez's journey; and Fr. Aquaviva, Provincial of Rome, wrote to Suárez himself that he should not excuse himself.

b) Aquaviva to Suárez

Desumptum ex Arch. Rom. S. J. cod. Tolet. Epist. Gener. 1584-8. Aquaviva to Suárez: Your Reverence's journey had better fortune (...) Thanks be to the Lord who brought him safe (...) I desire that Your Reverence may have there more health

and better strength than he had here, since the work does not excuse itself (...) (27 January 1586).

Desumptum ex Arch. Rom. S. J. cod. Toletan. Epist. Gener. 1584-8: "Your Reverence already knows the reason why the transferring of writings was forbidden (...) With all that, what Your Reverence asks seems good to me (...) (14 July 1586).

Desumptum ex Arch. Rom. S. I. Cod. Tolet. Epist. Gener. 1584-8: "Your Reverence's letter I have received with consolation at the good information which through it he gives me of brother Bartholomé de Sicilia (...) (22 April 1587).

Desumptum ex Arch. Rom. Tolet. Epist. Gener. 1584-8: "Your Reverence's letter, written on 27 May, I received, and I thank him for the fidelity and love which, in what is his own, he discovers towards the Society and its affairs. The warnings are very conformable to prudence and reason (...) (1 July 1587). It concerns irregularities of the Provincial Fr. Villalba.

Desumptum ex Arch. Rom. S. I. cod. Tolet. Epist. Gener. 1588–1600: Your Reverence says and feels very well that a language of disunion and diversity is diabolical, and I do not know how it has entered among us (...) (6 Sept. 1588).

Desumptum ex Arch. Rom. S. I. cod. Tolet. Epist. Gener. 1588–1600: "I received Your Reverence's letter written on 12 October, and in the case of which he tells me, I am of the same opinion as he" (12 Oct. 1588).

Desumptum ex Arch. Rom. S. I. cod. Tolet. Epist. Gen. 1588–1600: "I received Your Reverence's letter written on the 5th of January, and of what he advises me in it I have warned the provincial in particular, that he moderate the many guests who come to Jesús del Monte" (21 March 1589).

Desumptum ex Arch. Rom. S. J. cod. Tolet. Epist. Gener. 1588–1600: "I have been consoled to understand by Your Reverence's letter that the new rector is doing so well that the person of his predecessor is not missed" (...) and let Your Reverence not weary himself too much, for he knows that his weak health is not fit for too much work" (7 August 1589).

Desumptum ex Arch. Rom. S. I. cod. Tolet. Epist. Gener. 1588–1600: "I received Your Reverence's letter and with it the reading of the accomplice (...) Here we shall endeavour to make some diligence in favour of it (...) I desire that God give Your Reverence health enough to attend to what he is doing, for according as the rector of that College writes me, he goes about somewhat weak and lacking in it. I have charged him to take care to attend to Your Reverence with what is necessary. Let Your Reverence too measure himself in working, for it is worth more to arrive at the end little by little than, wishing to shorten the way, to fail on the road" (22 January 1590).

Desumptum ex Arch. Rom. S. I. cod. Tolet. Epist. Gener. 1588–1600: "I received Your Reverence's letter written on 17 August, in which he writes me certain opinions

which readers of ours have read, and he has good reason to have noted them (...) And let Your Reverence not cease to write to me for fear that the occupation may be irksome to me, for I shall be very glad to read his letters as of a person whom I know with the zeal and truth with which he writes them" (28 Oct. 1591). *He is writing the volume* De Incarnatione.

Desumptum ex Arch. Rom. S. I. cod. Tolet. Epist. Gener. 1588–1600: "I received Your Reverence's letter, and certainly his reasons and necessity on the one hand, and on the other the necessity of that college and the reasons of the provincial and of the rector and of Fr. Gil (Gonzalez Dávila, visitor), fought in my breast, until I resolved to encourage Your Reverence to continue his lecturing (...) and as for removing certain occasions which give him pain, we shall endeavour that little by little they be removed, and that in all else that may be necessary for Your Reverence's comfort nothing be lacking, as I now write to the provincial" (...) (6 July 1592).

The doctrinal controversies begin. Vázquez dissents from Suárez and becomes aware of the esteem which the latter enjoys at Rome and at Alcalá, forming a group of Toledan Fathers who support him. Suárez asks, without mentioning Vázquez, that he be relieved of the lectureship, and that those of the Province be allowed to triumph. His health is ever more infirm.

Desumptum ex Arch. Rom. S. I. cod. Tolet. Epist. 1588: "To the Fathers Francisco Suárez and Luis de Molina" (31 August 1572). They are asked to write in favour of the Society. It is the commission that gives rise to the composition of the four volumes *de Religione*.

Desumptum ex Arch. Rom. S. I. cod. Tolet. Epist. Gener. 1588–1600: "On the information which they gave me a short while ago (...) it seemed to me necessary to relieve Your Reverence of the labour of lecturing, and I am much more confirmed in this after having seen Your Reverence's letter and understood what the doctors think (...) As for the residence (...) in order to repair his health and to attend, if he can, to what he has begun in his printing, I shall give order that Your Reverence be consoled and helped, since so his labours and his present necessity require" (12 April 1593).

On the 22nd Vázquez writes against Bellarmine, Toledo, and above all against Suárez, on account of his doctrines and of the treatment given him in serving him "even a hen".

Desumptum ex Arch. Rom. S. I. cod. Tolet. Epist. Gener. 1588–1600: "By Your Reverence's letter written on 15 June (...) (2 August 1593).

Fr. Aquaviva praises Suárez for what he has helped economically with the books for the college, seeking loans for the printing. He permits him the loans and a deposit, but not in order to help the colleges, but the printers.

Desumptum ex Arch. Rom. S. I. cod. Tolet. Epist. Gener. 1588–1600: "I have understood from these fathers that in what Your Reverence is writing for the press a very good occasion offers itself of treating of and supporting the affairs of our Institute; and although of Your Reverence's zeal and religious spirit I am well assured (...) (25 Oct. 1593).

In the coming impressions Suárez does not speak of the Institute. He reserves it for vol. IV *De religione*, where the Society appears within the global whole of the religious orders and of religion.

Desumptum ex Arch. Rom. S. J. cod. Castell. Epist. Gener. 1588–1603: (To the provincial Garcia de Alarcón): (...) I believe that by this hour the matter of Fr. Francisco Suárez will have been settled, but certainly the reasons he puts forward are worthy of consideration, principally that of his poor health, with which I do not believe he will be able to serve and satisfy that University (of Coimbra) ... (29 July 1596).

Desumptum ex Arch. Rom. S. I. cod. Castell. Epist. Gener. 1588–1603: "I have received two letters of Your Reverence (...) Let him continue in the labours of the printing, for the satisfaction which what is printed gives assures that which the rest will give when it comes out (...) In the other letter Your Serenity speaks of Fr. Juan de Cartagena (...) the father will not lose by being devoted to the doctrine which Your Reverence has printed, for it gives satisfaction in all parts: and when any of ours should take exception to something which did not seem to him so conformable to St. Thomas, Your Reverence smooths it all with the humility and resignation with which he offers to change whatever may be pointed out to him. To close this, I remind him of what I have already once charged him with, that he write the *de Religione* as well founded and supported as all the rest" (...)

Desumptum ex Arch. Rom. S. I. cod. Tolet. epist. Gener. 1588–1600: "I write the present to Your Reverence with no little pain and feeling at what has caused me the little union which Your Reverence (Fr. Gabriel Vázquez) and Fr. Francisco Suárez show in their writings (...) I charge them that for the love of God in what they print they go in this so carefully that nothing less than decent may be noted (...) for I shall hold it a lesser inconvenience that the printings cease than to let them pass forward in the manner they have gone hitherto" (...) (24 Nov. 1599).

The occasion of this letter was the reply given by Suárez to Vázquez's attacks in various works against the doctrine of the Justice of God, taught before and approved by Aquaviva. The strongest words are those of the prologue to the *Opusculum Sextum: Disputatio de iustitia Dei* (ed. Vivés 11,515): "Yet now the admonition of very many learned men has compelled me, who, when they saw the doctrine handed down by us in certain places, and (what is more serious) the divine doctrine itself being attacked too freely by some moderns with great verbosity and

exaggeration, judged it necessary that I should answer for the justice of God Himself and of Christ our Lord and of our merits".

Desumptum ex Arch. Rom. S. I. cod. Castell. Epist. Gener. 1588–1603: "I have just received Your Reverence's letter of 12 February, and certainly it has caused me no little feeling, that which he shows in it about the one I wrote him; because I do not see that it was of such a kind that it could be called harsh, as Your Reverence calls it, nor was it my intention, as he suggests in his, to threaten that I would impede the printing, but to say that I hold it a lesser inconvenience to leave off the printings than to make them with detriment to union and charity, which ought to be set before letters. Those of Your Reverence and his doctrine, all know how much I esteem them (...) And such warnings it is just should be received with such a mind as he has who gives them (...) since with them all one aims at nothing more than to improve what is good and to circumcise what may be defective, for something will always be found so long as we live in this life" (11 May 1600).

Desumptum ex Arch. Rom. S. I. cod. Castell. Epist. Gener. 1588–1603: "It has been very fitting that Your Reverence should have sent through us the propositions and letters for His Holiness (...) (18 February 1601). It concerns a reply to Báñez.

Desumptum ex Arch. Rom. S. I. cod. Castell. Epist. Gener. 1588–1603: I have received Your Reverence's letter written on 29 May (...) What gives me concern is that Your Reverence should have so little comfort and pleasure in his occupation, being so just that he be given the great comfort which his labours need and deserve" (...) (27 August 1601).

Desumptum ex Arch. Rom. S.J. cod. Castell. Epist. Gener. 1588–1603: "The past months I wrote to Your Reverence (...) I trust in the religious spirit and prudence of Your Reverence that in this (of the salary) he will give the order which in this may be fitting" (...) (19 March 1602).

Desumptum ex Arch. Rom. S.I. cod. Castell. Epist. Gener. 1588–1603: "I desire so much Your Reverence's health, that he may be able to employ it as he has always done in occupations of such service to the Lord, universally good, that it seems to me very fitting what Your Reverence represents about ceasing that lectureship (...) Of Your Reverence's person there is much esteem here, and I do not see what offices now with His Holiness would be to the purpose: seeing the conjuncture, I shall not lose it" (29 July 1602).

We do not know whether Suárez foresaw the difficulties he would have immediately with Clement VIII.

Desumptum ex Arch. Rom. S.I. cod. Castell. Epist. Gener. 1588–1603: "Fr. Gaspar Suárez de Toledo, Your Reverence's nephew, has written me how, the Fr. Visitor and Provincial of Castile ordering him to go to Granada, he found his father in such necessity (...) (15 January 1603).

Desumptum ex Rom. S.I. cod. Castell. Epist. Gener. 1588–1603: "I must reply to Your Reverence's of 26 August (...) in what may offer itself here, let him be sure that no labour will be spared, so that Your Reverence's comfort be procured (...) (20 Oct. 1603). Of the same date is another letter relating to the printing of books.

Desumptum ex Arch. Rom. S.J. cod. Castell. Epist. Gener. 1588–1603: "I am so satisfied with the great virtue and religious spirit of Your Reverence, that it is not necessary that he give me further satisfaction than that which I have of his affairs: which affairs neither the person of Your Reverence, let him be sure, has in these occasions lost any point of the good credit which they had before. And so it was very fitting not to come to Rome" (...) (17 Nov. 1603).

Aquaviva makes light of the decrees of Clement VIII (1 June 1603 and 31 July 1603) in which Suárez's opinion on confession at a distance is condemned. He believes he has defended him sufficiently, as he says in the following letter.

Desumptum ex Arch. Rom. S.I. cod. Castell. Epist. Gener. 1588–1603: "His Holiness had ordered that a letter be written to the Inquisition of Spain (...) but afterwards so many diligences have been made, and we have had so much regard, that they should help us so that it should not be carried out (...) (17 Nov. 1603).

Desumptum ex Arch. Rom. S. I. Castell. Epist. Gener. 1588–1603: His indisposition, of which he informs me, in that of the first of November, and I have felt it as is reason" (...) (15 Dec. 1603).

Desumptum ex Arch. Rom. S. I. cod. Soli: Hispania 1603–1613: "As for what Your Lordship says in his letter (...) As for what concerns Your Reverence's book, he already knows that those who wish to excite us will make their comments; but I, at the first audience, intend to treat with His Sanctity of drawing out a testimony of the truth. That if we obtain it, as he has entreated Arrigonio, I believe it will be of importance" (1 March 1606).

Aquaviva finds himself much preoccupied with the Spanish moves against the General: they had treated with the court of making Fr. Suárez vicar of the Society, and he undid the manoeuvre (Veiga, pp. 41.114.115; Descamps III, c?4; p. 195.196).

Desumptum ex Arch. Rom. S. I. cod. Castella. Epist. Gen. 1603–1612: "The Lord Cardinal Bellarmine has signified to me that in certain places Your Reverence's works not only refute certain opinions of his, but also name him. I confess to Your Reverence that it has amazed me much, both for the respect which is due to his most illustrious Lordship and for the charity which ought to exist among us, as also for the singular modesty of Your Reverence in such matters, knowing how much he abhors this fault in others, and although the Lord Cardinal writes to Your Reverence (...) (2 May 1606).

This inadvertence of Suárez is explained by the manner in which he interpreted literary customs. In his letter of 12.2.1600 to Aquaviva he justifies why he did not cite Vázquez when refuting him: "In these replies I have never cited Fr. Vázquez. In the first place because as he began, so I did not do (...). Secondly, because I have experience that in Spain one is held of less account (...) and I hold it for certain that if I had done so, Your Paternity would have had greater complaints". Of the excellent relations between Suárez and Bellarmine their mutual letters are proof.

Vitelleschi on Suárez. The general registers of the last twelve years of Suárez have been lost. For this reason no letter written to Suárez by his disciple and General of the Society, Fr. Mutio Vitelleschi, is preserved. But some notes and emendations to the last and posthumous volume *de Religione* are preserved, to which — according to Suárez himself in a letter to the bishop of Portalegre, Da Cunha, and the editor Baltasar Alvarez — he devoted very marked eulogies.

Desumptum ex epistola dedicatoria P.B. Alvarez ad vol. IV De Religione: "That last and truly posthumous offspring of Suárez *de Religione* (...) does not the matter itself demand that, since from Claudius it received its beginning, it should be referred to you as its term and end? Assuredly of all the other offspring of Suárez, which you have read through most beautifully at leisure, you have judged this one the fairest".

Desumptum ex Bibl. Publica Eboracensi cod CV fol. 48.49. Suárez to Rodrigo Da Cunha: "A very great favour and joy I received with that of Your Lordship (...) God granting three years of life and His light and grace, the volumes *de Religione* which Your Lordship desires should come out will come out through my doing him this favour. And already Fr. Mutio Vitelleschi, our new General, has sent me the licence that they be printed, with words truly of a friend, as I hope to show Your Lordship shortly in person" (12 Sept. 1616).

Of the immediate Superiors nothing is preserved in the Suarezian documentation, apart from the reports indicated above. The reason lies in the lack of provincial registers of the old Society. All the documentation of the generalate proceeds from the Roman Archive of the Society. Suárez does not seem to have preserved more than his scientific correspondence in the *Conselhos*. Other personal documents of Suárez perished in the house of the Suárez de Toledo family at Granada, as the Theologian's nephew, Don Juan Suárez de Toledo, wrote to Descamps on 4 August 1665 (Descamps V, c. 29, p. 593).

5. Pontifical and ecclesiastical correspondence concerning Suárez

The pontifical documents concerning Suárez begin with the painful step of the condemnations of his work *de Poenitentia*. Of the great esteem which Gregory XIII had for him there are no properly pontifical documents. The Nuncio in Spain, Ginnasio, and the Collector of Lisbon, Decio Caraffa, communicate the first impressions to Card. Aldobrandini, Secretary of Clement VIII. The Pope receives the Theologian kindly. Paul V understands the false framing of the problem. He saves his predecessor's prestige by distinct decrees, reassures Fr. Suárez, and waits for the edition of the Roman Ritual, where the thesis of Leo the Great, defended by Suárez, is conceded even further than the Theologian had claimed. Meanwhile Suárez intervenes decisively with his works and with discourses written for Bastida in the Controversy *de Auxiliis*. Paul V officially declares Suárez's moral congruism defensible, staying the case against Molina's book. Suárez finds himself obliged to intervene with representations at Madrid, and with his work *de immunitate* in the pontifical conflict with Venice (1606). Through Bastida's representations this earns him the first laudatory decree of Paul V. The controversy arises between James I and Bellarmine. Paul V, through Borghese, obtains that Suárez should intervene in the debate, composing his great work *Defensio fidei*. The monarch-theologian James I, provoker of the discussion, feels himself humiliated and attacks by political means Suárez's book, which the English Parliament condemns to the fire at Holy Croce, and he obtains that the French Parliament should burn it too. Paul V intervenes with three briefs addressed to Suárez, extraordinarily laudatory of his learning and religious spirit, and acts first in the Court of Madrid by means of the Nuncio Caraffa and the Collector of Lisbon, so that Suárez may write without hesitation, and afterwards by means of the Nuncio in Paris, Archbishop of Monte Pulciano, so that Marie de' Medici and Louis VIII may give Suárez's book the satisfaction due to it.

The *Defensio fidei* provokes in France a delicate situation for the Society, confronted with triumphant Gallicanism in the Parliament. In Spain Philip III comes to its defence, as does an ecclesiastical Junta of theologians, who subscribe *nemine discrepante* all the doctrines of the *Defensio*. The diplomatic correspondence on the Suárez affair in Madrid and London is very copious.

Four years later Suárez feels himself obliged to condemn the Gallicanism of the ministers of that same Philip III, or of his Viceroy at Lisbon, Diego de Silva, Duke of Villahermosa and Marquis of Alanquer. A conflict of jurisdictions led the Viceroy to seize the temporalities of the collector, besides other acts of violence, and led the latter to defend himself on 27 June 1617 with the excommunication of the guilty parties and the interdict of the most populous

city in Europe, Paris excepted. Philip III intervened to have the interdict lifted, with previous satisfaction *ad cautelam* by the Viceroy. The Nuncio in Madrid believed that the formula *ad cautelam* would have to be conceded. The collector believed the settlement dishonouring and unjust. The Viceroy, who counted on the vote of the most distinguished Jesuits of Lisbon, informed Suárez in order to set his own mind at rest: but the theologian gave the reason to the Pontifical Collector, who in turn informed Rome, supporting himself on Suárez. The servant of God communicated his attitude to the bishop Da Cunha, giving him to understand that the Viceroy had wished to make him judge of the Interdict: "They have not made me judge of the interdict: whoever wants to be so is the Pazo (or Parliament) (...) And still the matter goes further, for I have not managed to give satisfaction to the lord viceroy on this occasion, at which I am much grieved; but opinions are not subject to the will" (30 July 1617).

Paul V energetically supported the collector's attitude, and sent Suárez the laudatory brief, which arrived late, but served as a pontifical panegyric of Suárez's virtue.

Of confession at a distance, besides the general decree of 20 June 1602, there are preserved those of 7.6.1603 and 31.7.1603 and 10.4.1604 of Clement VIII and those of 20.7.1605, all condemnatory of Suárez's book, and 18.7.1605. There are preserved besides various letters of the nunciature of Spain and of Portugal with the Secretary Aldobrandini. The decrees constituted the painful cross which Suárez had to bear before his total triumph.

Clement VIII on Suárez (De paenitentia)

Desumptum ex Biblioth. Angelica Ms 862 fol. 433: "In the congregation of the Most Reverend (...) on the 7th day of June 1603. The question was proposed: whether the doctrine of Father Suarez (...) they judged that the aforesaid doctrine of P. Suarez openly conflicts with the definition of the Most Holy".

Desumptum ex Biblioth. Angel., Ms 862 fol. 433: "On the last day of the month of July (...) The Most Holy decreed that the book be suspended (...) Let the same Father Francisco Suarez be inhibited from being able to write further (...)".

Desumptum ex Biblioth. Angel., Ms. 862 fol. 433: "In the Congregation of the Most Reverend (...) 10 April MDIV. The informations lately laid in the name of P. Franciscus Suarez having been proposed (...) they judged that one must persist in the same sentence (...). But the Father Regent of the Carmelites stood by his own judgment, given otherwise".

Desumptum ex Biblioth. Casanatensi Ms 2984 Miscellanea: "On 14 July 1665 (...) the cause of Father Suárez having been proposed (...) the Most Holy decreed that the said interpretation of Petris Suarez does not stand, and therefore is to be removed (...)".

Desumptum ex Analecta Iuris Pontificii 1863, VI series, t. III, col. 2185: "Feria V, on the 18th day of August 1605 (...) The Most Holy decreed that from volume IV of Suarez (...) disp. 21 (...) sect. quartam (...) the whole is to be removed (...)".

The nuncio of Spain reports first on Báñez's denunciation and afterwards on Suárez's humility. Báñez supports the accusation by means of Fr. Lemos, forwarding it through the Nuncio.

Correspondence of the Roman Curia

Desumptum ex Arch. Vat. Spagna 55. f. 370 (*Ginnasio, Archbishop of Siponto, to Aldobrandini*): "I arrived in these parts with the decree of Our Lord concerning confession in writing (...) Fr. Suarez had already had it printed (...) and Fr. Bagnes was of the contrary opinion (...) he writes the enclosed to Your Lordship. Valladolid, 13 Oct. 1602).

Fr. Báñez gave these notices, falsifying Suárez's thought, in a letter to Fr. Lemos (1 Oct. 1601); and to Clement VIII he accuses Suárez's explanation only of "praematura quaedam intelligentia" (Arch. Vat. Let. di particolari n. 1). The following year Suárez likewise has recourse to Ginnasio.

Desumptum ex Arch. Vat. Spagna 58 (*Ginnasio to Aldobrandini*): "There has come here Fr. Francesco Suarez who lectures in Portugal, and he has been with me with great humility (...) Swearing that it was never his intention but to serve Your Lordship (...) that he submits to whatever Our Lord shall command. With great humility. He is a man venerable and very quiet and humble, and he has a great reputation in these parts: several times I have thought that such men ought to be kept in Rome (...) (Valladolid 17 August 1603).

Desumptum ex Arch. Vat. Nunz. di Spagna t. 5 (*Ginnasio to Aldobrandini*): Fr. Francesco Suárez writes the enclosed letter to His Lordship (...) He begged me much that I should accompany it with this of mine (...) Valladolid, 4 October 1603 (...) I have a good report of this father, and he is of a venerable countenance" fol. 75 (letter of Clement VIII): "To Cardinal Aldobrandini, to send the copy to Card. Borghese" (the future Paul V), that he may speak to me of it".

Desumptum ex Ms Arc. Vatic. Borgh. IV 162, f. Ba. lat. 5852: olim LXIII, 42. p. 4, f. 660-67: "The business of Fr. Suarez has been settled (...), and Your Lordship has been very pleased to understand from his letter the humiliation made by the

said Father; and how much he might wish to come to Rome, not only would he see him willingly, but he would be very glad that it should be done, and if in this matter Your Lordship can do anything of himself, he will do a thing pleasing to His Beatitude (...) 23 Sept. 1603).

Desumptum ex Arch. Vat. Nunz. di Spagna 58 f. 339 (*Ginnasio to Aldobrandini*): I have seen what Your Most Illustrious Lordship writes me concerning Fr. Suarez, and that His Holiness would be glad that he should go to Rome, and that I should procure it; I have treated of it with him, and having encouraged him (...) he says he will go to the Escorial to ask leave of His Majesty (...) (1 Nov. 1603). (*In the Pope's own hand on the back*: "We shall see him willingly").

Desumptum ex Arch. Vat. Spagna 59, f. 82 (*Ginnasio to Aldobrandini*): "Fr. Francesco Suarez the Jesuit (...) who is that famous man who lectures in Portugal, is most resolved to come to Rome, provided that the order of His Majesty that he leave his lecture at Coimbra, and that his General should dissuade him from it (...) it is necessary that Our Lord should see him with a good eye, since otherwise it would be the loss of a person of such fame (...) (Valladolid 27 Feb. 1604: *In the Pope's own hand*) "We shall see him most willingly". Ginnasio refers to the first attitude of the General and of Philip III before Suárez went to ask the authorization.

Desumptum ex Arch. Vat. Borgh. IV 162, f. Ba. lat. 5852, olim LXIII, 42, p. 5 f. 16v. (*Aldobrandini to the Collector Pont. of Lisbon, Caraffa*): "Fr. Francesco Suarez will be seen willingly by Our Lord, and for the quality of the said Father and for the reminder and recommendation made of him to Your Lordship; and thus he will be able to assure the said Father of it (...) Rome 5 April 1604).

Desumptum ex Arch. Vat. Borghese II 448 ab fol. 97 (*Decio Caraffa to Aldobrandini*): Fr. Francesco Suárez (...) who holds the chair of the lectureship of theology in the University of Coimbra, a city of this kingdom, has by his letters, religion and prudence made himself so known in such a manner, that he has moved the Catholic King to grant him a signal favour, that he continue the said lectureship for another three years. For from the first of the kingdom to the last he is esteemed greatly, since to the many letters he gives for company much observance of religion with singular prudence (...) Lisbon 15 March 1604.

Desumptum ex Arch. Vat. Spagna t. 59 (*Ginnasio to Aldobrandini*): "The bearer of this will be Fr. Francesco Suarez, of whose virtues and goodness I have written other times (...) Valladolid 20 April 1604. I hope that Your Most Illustrious Lordship will be satisfied with the worth, goodness and integrity of the aforesaid Francesco, and that therefore he will come to him willingly for his virtues (sic) and to do me a favour".

Paul V to Suárez

Suárez's journey to Rome was providential. Clement VIII remained most gratified by Suárez's humble attitude, but he was by no means easy about the official attitude which, by the decree of 20 June 1602, had been adopted in the question of penance. Hence his desire that Suárez should make the journey, urged on by the Nuncio Ginnasio. The culminating point of Suárez's labours was the audience at Frascati in the month of September. Suárez referred to it at the beginning of October: "Most Blessed Father. On the day that Your Sanctity did me the favour of hearing me at Frascati, I offered Your Sanctity to see the Abulensis, who was cited against me. I have seen it, and it has given me occasion to make certain new notes, which seem to me necessary for greater clarity of the truth which Your Sanctity so much desires" (Bibliot. Angelica Ms 862 fol. 515).

Paul V followed as cardinal the great perplexity of Clement VIII, who consulted him in the affair. And he decided to cut the matter short with a non-contradictory attitude, by saying that Suárez's explanation was not necessary, "non subsistit", and by leaving on the other hand the editions of Suárez to run without applying the condemnation, until the Ritual promulgated in 1615, where a more advanced solution than Suárez's was given. Paul V's solution for saving his predecessor's prestige demanded of Suárez and Aquaviva, as of the Court of Madrid, great prudence and reserve, with a heroic silence on the part of a theologian whom the Pope praised in private and condemned in public. Suárez desired a public compensation against the campaign of defamation of which he was the object on account of the famous "official" condemnations, as appears from many documents, in order to be able to continue his office with decorum. The Pope was the first to wish to procure it for him. Hence Suárez's letter to Paul V, offering him the work *De immunitate*: Most Blessed Father. Your Sanctity will be presented by Fr. Bastida, together with this letter, with a treatise (...). I hope from the great benignity of Your Sanctity that at least he will accept my good will and desire; and if I should have any news that this labour has not displeased Your Sanctity, it would be of singular consolation to me (...) From Coimbra and February 10, 1607 (...) (Arch. Vat. Borghese II 68, fol. 546). In September 1607 Fr. Bastida wrote to a high personage of the Roman Curia, probably to the Carmelite Fr. Bovio, bishop of Melfi, this letter: "Fr. Francisco Suárez has written an opuscule *De immunitate ecclesiastica* (...) It is desired that His Sanctity should favour its author with a

brief, in which he may encourage and honour him" (Arch. Vat. *Litterae ad principes* vol. 32, in dorso 1607-15).

With this begin the briefs of Paul V in homage to Suárez. Later there followed His Sanctity's brief on Suárez's intervening in the case of James I, and finally the Interdict of Lisbon of 1617.

Desumptum ex Arch. Vat. S.D.N. Pauli Pape V, Epist ad principes, Doc. avulso apud Vasconcellos p. XLV: "How great is our Lord (...) by which the Ecclesiastical power (...) has suffered a storm, especially appears (...) But the pestilent night many faithful servants of Christ (...) have dispersed (...) Among these servants he numbers you in the first place, for the volume of your apostolate sent to us by you (...). There is therefore reason why you should rejoice in the Lord and give thanks to the Father of lights (...) 2 October 1607 (...).

Desumptum ex Arch. Vat. S. D. N. Pauli Papa V Epist. ad principes, Epist. CCCXVIII: The things which our beloved son Decius Carraffa wrote to us concerning your pious and unceasing labours, which you sustain for the glory of God and the good of His Holy Church, have been most pleasing to us. And indeed they answer to what we had before received of your zeal for piety and of your doctrine. We love you exceedingly in the Lord (...) III Cal. Mar.

Desumptum ex Arch. Vat. S.D.N. Pauli Papae V. Epist. ad principes t. IX, p. 29v: "We have received the book elaborated by you in defence of the Catholic Religion and of this Holy Apostolic See. Most willingly shall we delight in the reading of it. For from a man of such piety and erudition nothing but a work of the greatest utility is to be expected (...) IV idus sept. MDCXIII (...).

Desumptum ex Arch. Vat. S.D.N. Pauli Papae V, Brevia anno pontificatus XIII p. 22: Our venerable Brother Octavius (...) the Collector, has signified to Us what you have replied concerning the controversy lately arisen between him and the secular magistrates, at the instigation of the adversary of peace; and he has also sent the writings, which, as they are consonant with your great piety and doctrine, have been most welcome to us. Wherefore we praise your work, as we ought, and we exhort you in the Lord to go on serving freely the honour of God and of His Church, in which you so greatly shine by divine grace: for we know how much your authority avails for rooting out the tares (...) 25 August 1617 (...).

Cardinal Borghese and Suárez

Desumptum ex Arch. Vat. Borgh. I 954, fol. 227-8 (*Borghese to Suárez*): "There has come to the Sanctity of Our Lord Your Reverence's letter of 25 September, together with the writings which were enclosed with it; and as His Sanctity bears

a paternal affection to all of his religion, so he loves in particular those who are most eminent for goodness and doctrine, and they seek to further the salvation of souls: which desire showing the Reverence of Your Lordship to have had in all his works (...) From Rome, the X of November 1609".

Desumptum ex Arch. Vat. Borgh. I 950, fol. 63 (*Borghese to Decio Caraffa*): If Fr. Suárez of the Society shall make the reply promised to the book of the king of England, he will do a most pleasing thing to Our Lord (...) (5 January 1610: see *Lopetegui*, Gregorianum 27 (1946) 588).

Desumptum ex Arch. Vat. Borgh. I 950, fol. 121-2 (*Borghese to Decio Caraffa*): "When Fr. Suarez of the Society of Jesus shall have completed the reply to the book of the king of England, it will be sent here and approved by His Beatitude. He will honour him with a brief, as is desired. Which Your Lordship may go intimating to him for his consolation, without however obliging him (...) From Rome the 27 April 1610".

Desumptum ex Arch. Vat. Nunz. di Spagna 336, fol. 156 (*Borghese to Caraffa*): "From the letter of Father Francesco Suarez (...) it is understood that he goes excusing himself in the delay (...) such as he have more need of the spur wherewith authors excite themselves than of the goads of others (...) 20 July 1610).

Desumptum ex Arch. Vat. Nunz. di Spagna 336, f. 178. cfr. Lopetegui, Gregorianum 27 (1946) 591 (*Borghese to Caraffa*): "The reply made to Your Lordship by Father Soarez (...) has come with the letters which she has written on the 16th of August; and because works of genius succeed better when they are spontaneous than when forced or solicited by others, it will be well (...) September 1610".

Desumptum ex Arch. Vat. Borgh. I 950, fol. 184 (*Borghese to Caraffa*): "Fr. Suarez continuing to fabricate (labour?) still upon the reply to the King of England, it is hoped to see a work such as may be worthy of the Author (...)" (13 Oct. 1610).

Desumptum ex Arch. Vat. Borgh. I 950, fol. 359 (*Borghese to Caraffa*): The ordinary arrived before the extraordinary (...) The book of Father Soarez in manuscript has been had (...) From Rome, the 5th of January 1612".

Desumptum ex Arch. Vat. Nunz. di Portogallo 150, fol. 303 (*Borghese to the Collector of Portugal*): "The second part of the reply of Father Suárez has arrived. Meanwhile praises and thanks are given to the said father, to whom His Lordship wrote several months ago, when the first part was sent him (...) From Rome the 20th of June 1612".

Desumptum ex Arch. Vat. Particolari 172 (*of the year 1609 down to 1616: relata in Borgh. 1963, fol. 11-12*) (*Borghese to Suárez*): "Your Reverence stands in great favour with Our Lord for the merit of his virtue, for which I bear him particular affection (...) thus he has ordered me to reply to him that, as for the plenary indulgence for himself at the passage to the other life, and for being able

to communicate it to 20 persons (...) His Beatitude grants it to him very willingly (...) 8 November 1612.

Desumptum ex Arch. Vat. Nunz. di Portogallo 150, fol. 375 (*Borghese to the Collector*): "The book of Fr. Francesco Suárez (...) has been most dear, since it is believed that it is such as may be promised from the great learning and piety of the said Father. And already the said Mons. Nuntio, who has been in Madrid, has received it with the greatest applause, and holds it a matter of great distinction (...) the 12th of September 1613.

Desumptum ex Arch. Vat. Nunz. di Spagna 337, f. 468 (*Borghese to Caetani*): "The book of Father Francesco Suárez has been received (...) it has been in the highest degree dear to understand that the work has been received there with applause and reputed distinguished (...) the 13th of September 1613".

Desumptum ex Arch. Vat. Nunz. di Francia (?) *t. 295 fol. Vr.* (*Borghese to Ubaldini?*): Among the many learned Religious who, excited by their piety, have replied to the pernicious book of the King of England against our holy Faith, one has been Father Francesco Suárez of the Society of Jesus, a person distinguished for doctrine and for other parts (...) Rome the 12th of September 1613).

Desumptum ex Arch. Vat. Nunz. di Francia T. 55, f. 462 (*Ubaldini to Borghese*): "Here there has not yet been seen that I should know of any copy of the reply of Fr. Suárez (...) and since the Author is of the Society of Jesus, and in such esteem and reputation as his many and most erudite works have acquired for him (...) 8 October 1613".

Desumptum ex Arch. Vat. Nunz. di Francia, t. 55, fol. 507v. (*Ubaldini to Borghese*): "There has been understood here the most bitter resentment which the King of England has shown at the reply of Fr. Suárez to his pernicious book, and the arrest with which he has had it condemned to the fire (...) (31 *December* 1613).

Desumptum ex Arch. Vat. Nunz. di Francia, T. 56, f. 68v. (*Ubaldini to Borghese*): "The book which Fr. Suárez the Jesuit published last year against the King of England having been reprinted at Cologne, certain Huguenot booksellers who were at the last fair of Frankfurt have brought certain copies of it here, at the solicitation without doubt of some rival and enemy of the Society (...) (5 June 1614).

Desumptum ex Arch. Vat. Nunz. di Francia, T. 56, fol. 74rv (*Ubaldini to Borghese*): "Every day these politicians make themselves more heard against the book of Fr. Suarez; and the Advocate serving (...) holds in horror and greatly detests the authority and dignity of that Holy See (...) (June 1614).

Desumptum ex Arch. Vat. T. 56, f. 77 (*Ubaldini to Borghese*): "With my last two letters I have given most reverent notice to Your Most Illustrious Lordship of the alteration of these Politicians against the work of Fr. Suárez (...) 3 of July

1614". (*This is the fundamental letter of the copious correspondence between Paris and Rome on the Suárez question. More than 30 documents are preserved*).

6. Documentation of diplomatic character and political environment

Suárez's figure in the diplomatic world appears in relief in Scorraille's *François Suares*. A recent book (Pereña, *La guerra en Suárez*, 2 vols., Madrid, 1954) likewise confers on him an extraordinary political importance in the Europe of his time. Suárez's importance is certain, though not the significance given by Pereña to the activity of Bellarmine, of Suárez and of Paul V: "Romanization was his objective: only in union with Rome was a return to Catholicity possible, and in Catholicity lay the salvation of Europe. This programme of apostolate became a fanatical policy. A powerful weapon was wielded. To bind through consciences has been for the Society of Jesus the favourite method of its government. The King's confessor was the key to his political programme". St. Robert Bellarmine is here distorted or truncated. It is certain that Suárez yearned for the ideal of Christian unity (p. 115). It is false that "war appears effectively as the key of the system" (p. 125). The key of the system lies in the justice of God, which serves to unite morality and law. Suárez treated of it in his opuscule *De iustitia Dei*, decisive against Vázquez.

With the criterion of unity in integral justice, Suárez writes his works *De legibus*, the *De immunitate contra venetos*, the *Defensio fidei* and his last memorials in the Interdict of Lisbon, which made of him the last great theoretical representative of Christendom in Spain, as Bellarmine was in Rome. In this atmosphere his name appears in the documentation of the Chancelleries; but earlier it had appeared in the great controversy over the confession of the dying. The documents of Philip II have been indicated before. Philip III, the Duke of Lerma, the Duke of Escalona, the Countess of Lemos and other great personages appear in the matter of confession, at Fr. Suárez's petition, as was notorious to the Pope and was a usage imposed in the Curia, the fundamental right of the matter being supposed.

Philip III and his ministers on Suárez

Desumptum ex Arch. Vat. Nunz. di Spagna vol. 58, fol. 241-2 (*Suárez to Philip III*):

Doctor Francisco Suárez (...) asks and entreats Your Majesty, as his protector, to

be pleased to order a letter to be written to His Sanctity, in which he may declare to him the esteem which he has of his person, letters and books, and the honours which for that cause he does him (...) (19 *August* 1603).

Desumptum ex Sartolo III c. 51 (*Philip III to Clement VIII*): Most holy Father: By the good information which the King my lord and Father, who is in glory, had of the person, letters and virtue of Francisco Suárez (...) he charged him with the chair of Prime (...). And for holding myself the same opinion of him (...) (20 *August* 1606).

Desumptum ex Arch. Gen. Simancas, legajo 1857 (*Suárez to the count of Vilallonga*): In the enclosed paper goes the memorial (...) The letter of the King N. Sor. for his Sanctity has to contain the following: Firstly, that he has been advised that (...) by having interpreted (...) a decree of His Sanctity more hastily than was fitting and without consulting his Beatitude (...) (8 *Oct.* 1606). *This was Báñez's accusation*.

Desumptum ex Cod. Monacensi 86 fol. 75v-76r (*Philip III to the Duke of Escalona*). The King. Duke of Escalona, cousin: Doctor Francisco Suárez (...) in a book which he wrote (...) His Beatitude has ordered removed from the said book (...) notwithstanding that it is known by sure advices from that court that His Sanctity does not stop at the doctrine of the book; and seeing that in this not only does the reputation and doctrine of the said Doctor suffer, being of the gravest and most exemplary fathers and of the best name that the Society has in letters, religion, modesty and virtue (...) (11 *Nov.* 1603).

Desumptum ex cod. Monacensi hisp. 86 fol. 74v (*Philip III to the Duke of Escalona*): Duke of Escalona, cousin, since His Beatitude has referred to me what touches the book of Fr. Suárez (...) as you advise me by your letter of 9 March, I charge you to continue favouring his cause (...) (21 *May* 1604).

Desumptum ex Sartolo, El eximio Doctor III 5, p. 189.9 (*Francisco de Castro, ex-Viceroy of Naples, to Clement VIII*): "May it please God that Your Sanctity may not think it presumption that Don Francisco de Castro should take upon himself the office, before the Vicar of Christ (...) of the person of the Father Francisco Suárez (...) of entreating Your Sanctity to be pleased to defend and honour the person of this Father, as the most distinguished that Spain has had in Religion and letters in our time. For truly it is a great compassion that, after so many labours and works so excellent, his rivals (envious of so much glory and honour) should wish to take from him the opinion which he has, and to put a blemish on his doctrine" (...) And so, for this, as for the great affection I bear to Father Francisco Suárez, and for what I see that all Spain loves him, and for what His Majesty, my Uncle, esteems him (...) Valladolid, 26 August 1603".

Desumptum ex Sartolo III c. 5, p. 197 (*Doña Catalina de Zúñiga, countess of Lemos, to Clement VIII*): "Most holy Father: The persecutions which the Society suffers

from certain persons go on increasing every day (...) and to me certainly (...) it gives such pain, that I do not know with what words I can declare it (...) but at the least it touches me, as a Daughter of the Society, to entreat Your Sanctity to be pleased to declare with all possible brevity the truth of this case and the fault which each one has (...) and that on occasion of declaring the truth Your Beatitude be pleased also to honour the Father Francisco Suárez, since his extraordinary religion, accompanied with such great letters, and with such continual and profitable labours in the service of the Church, deserve it (...). And if to ...

7. Documents of his professorship and chairs

In the preceding sections allusion has been made to the vicissitudes of Suárez in the first stages of his professorship at Segovia, Valladolid, Rome and Alcalá. In 1593 he returned to Salamanca on account of illness, but the insistence of the Superiors obliged him to take the chair, which he occupied for four years against his own will and against the will of Frs. Marcos and Enríquez. Both manifested their opposition to Suárez's doctrines in various documents. Enríquez accused him before the Inquisition, Marcos before the Superiors. Enríquez's accusations form a copious and eventful documentation, in which the informer accuses not only Suárez but also Bellarmine, Toledo and other distinguished theologians, disturbing the Society with the favour of the Inquisition until he abandoned it, only to return to it again. This documentation has been the object of an extensive monograph: *Censuras de Enríquez contra Suárez*, in *Archivo Teológico Granadino*.

Fr. Miguel Marcos was a much more measured rival, who condemned not errors but novelties and the not following of St. Thomas in the manner in which he himself did. Through frictions in the community he spent several years dedicated to missions. When he returned to Salamanca, Suárez was already lecturing theology there, and Marcos — supporting himself on the fact that Suárez had not come and did not wish to lecture — tried to obtain his chair, against the will of the Superiors. Suárez being assigned to Coimbra, Fr. Marcos removed from their chairs Frs. Cobos (the future Provincial) and Cartagena, who went to lecture at Valencia. The Fr. General does not tire of warning Fr. Marcos and the Superiors that their doctrinal differences with Suárez are minimal, and that in all the Universities of Europe Suárez was read with admiration as a faithful disciple of St. Thomas.

The twenty years of Coimbra are for Suárez years of fruitfulness, of intense labour, of tranquillity and of general esteem in the University and outside it. The documentation, after the royal letters urging him to accept the chair, is reduced to purely administrative documents, which Vasconcellos has gathered to the number of *two hundred and ninety-one*. As a memorial to the great Doctor of Coimbra, the University has dedicated a seminar to him and is the seat of the International Francisco Suárez Society. Of the documentation we shall cite only what is most significant.

Desumptum ex Arch. Rom. Soc. Iesu, Hisp. 1575 (*The Rector P. Atienza to the General, P. Mercuriano*): (...) The remembrance which has been given to the other second lecturer (Fr. Suárez) so that he may not depart from St. Thomas, I too believe will be of profit, not because in substance I believe there has been much to correct, since in theology he has always accommodated himself to the doctrine of St. Thomas (...) (9 April 1579). *Fr. Suárez himself informs the Fr. General, adding*: "and I was thinking I had done so up to now: but from here forward, and I offer to set myself both interiorly and exteriorly to perfect myself in this, when I can with the grace of the Lord" (10 April 1579).

Desumptum ex Arch. Rom. Soc. Iesu, Cast. Epist. Gener. 1580–1583 (*Mercuriano to the Prov. Ant. Marcén*): (...) that Your Reverence send us Fr. Francisco Suárez with the first convenience" (15 June 1580).

Desumptum ex Arch. Rom. Soc. Iesu, Epist. Gen. 1584–1588 (*Aquaviva to P. Marcén*): (...) "Since they have advised me that there are some who wish to print the first part of St. Thomas, changing only certain things in his arrangement from the writings of Fr. Francisco Suárez, and it would be inconvenient, I desire that Your Reverence inform himself well of what there is in this, and that he take steps to hinder them" (...) (22 January 1582). *These writings of Suárez have been found recently. In them one can see how Suárez followed St. Thomas and the new questions which he introduced*.

Desumptum ex Arch. Rom. Soc. Iesu Tolet. Epist. Gener. 1584–1588 (*Aquaviva to Marcén*): "The necessity which Fr. Francisco Suárez has of repairing a little his health and the strength which he has spent with study forces us to deprive ourselves of him and to send him to a land which may be a little more favourable for him (...) I see that the college of Alcalá will feel his departure (that of Fr. Vázquez...), and I desire that Your Reverence with his prudence carry it out, satisfying the Rector with two things: the one, that in order to satisfy these studies, especially at this time, so qualified a subject is necessary, that with his letters made in this place and with his religion and good natural gifts he may help union; the other, that Fr. Francisco Suárez is willing to supply the place of Fr. Vázquez (...)

out of his own resources, however much Your Reverence may know it and be able as such to signify well his sufficiency and good parts" (30 July 1585).

Desumptum ex Arch. Rom. Soc. Iesu, Tolet. Epist. Gen. 1584–1588 (*Aquaviva to Bart. Pérez de Nueros*): "(...) To Fr. Francisco Porres I give notice that Fr. Francisco Xuárez should put in order the matters which he may have read (...) but on condition that he remove all the opinions which are not very well received everywhere, even of the Dominican Fathers, and that he conform himself to the doctrine of St. Thomas" (25 March 1538). The same warning he repeats on other occasions, since, as one sees, they pardon nothing" (17 April 1590).

Desumptum ex Arch. Rom. Soc. Iesu, Tolet. Epist. Genr. 1588–1600 (*Aquaviva to the Rector Hernando Lucero*): "(...) Since the printing of Fr. Francisco Suárez is so near its end (...) it will be well that they send one, so that here we may console ourselves in enjoying the good labours of the Father. As for that of Fr. Báñez (Suárez's work on the accomplice), it was finished here, and well" (9 July 1590). *In these nn. the reasons of health have been indicated for which Aquaviva takes him from Alcalá and he goes to Salamanca*.

Desumptum ex Arch. Rom. Soc. Iesu, Hispan. Epp. General 1592–1593 (*Francisco Porres to Aquaviva*): "Fr. Antonio de Padilla (...) brought me certain opinions of the physicians of Alcalá and of the principal ones here (Madrid), who in all are six (...) all the physicians come to say that without doubt lecturing is very prejudicial to him (...) and that grave harm to his health may be feared (...); I called him here so that he might consult Dr. Mercado, physician of the chamber of His Majesty and his friend (...) he answered that, provided this does not go further, aggravating itself, he will be able to lecture until Easter of the Resurrection. And with the said opinion we have remained" (17 Feb. 1593).

Desumptum ex Arch. Rom. Soc. Iesu. Hispaña 1594 (*Gonzalo Dávila to Aquaviva*): "On disembarking at Palermo and attending here (...) that the having asked Fr. Miguel Marcos for the missions which he requested of Your Reverence for Galicia, was born of temptation and vexation, which at this hour is now more declared (...) and on the other hand I have not wished to show him our need of his person for the lectureship, because so it suits him, since he is very persuaded that we have it; and in truth we do not cease to have that need, since Fr. Francisco Suárez lacks the health, so that I believe he will not be able to manage with lecturing and printing" (...) (The Prov. Gonzalo Davila to Aquaviva).

Desumptum ex Arch. Rom. Soc. Iesu Arch. Rom. Soc. Iesu (*Miguel Marcos to Aquaviva*): "(...) Having received from Your Paternity the favour of the missions of Galicia, I came away most consoled. The Fr. Provincial puts them in suit for me, so that I may return to lecture at Salamanca, because Fr. Francisco Suárez discharges himself of this office, saying that he cannot continue it and that he has

already fulfilled what was asked of him, which was only that he should lecture until I returned from Rome. I beseech Your Paternity to confirm what he once blessed (...) for the following reasons (...) 6.º One of the principal inventors and defenders of new opinions in this province was and is Fr. Francisco Suárez (...) 7.º Add to this that Fr. Gonzále Dávila, provincial, and Fr. Vique, Rector of Salamanca, are great and very old friends of Fr. Francisco Suárez and Fr. Mena (...), 9.º (...) through information so ill given as was that which was given to Your Paternity, saying that Fr. Francisco Suárez had gone on purpose to lecture at Salamanca, taking this office as a fixed post, the falsity of which is evident from what the same Fr. Suárez now says" (...) (8 July 1954).

Desumptum ex Arch. Rom. Soc. Iesu, Hispana 1594 (*Miguel Marcos to Aquaviva*): "(...) with the example and protection of Fr. Fransisco Suárez, liberty of opinion among these most beloved students of the house is so valid, that I hold it impossible to go against them or to reduce them to the new decree of following the doctrine of St. Thomas (...) (17 July 1594).

Desumptum ex Descamps II cap. 11 p. 161 (*Philip II to Fr. García de Alarcón*): "I the King send you greeting. In the University of the city of Coimbra the chair of prime of Theology is vacant; and since for it there is a lack of persons of letters and of the parts necessary for masters of it, and I being informed that Francisco Suárez has them (...) I charge you greatly that you order him to go and read the said chair for some years (...)" (13 May 1596).

Desumptum ex Descamps II cap. 11, p. 162.3 (*Philip II to Fr. García de Alarcón*): "I the King. I send you much greeting. I received your letter in reply to that which I wrote you about Francisco Suárez (...) Wherefore I charge you to order the said Francisco Suárez to go at once to Coimbra, and to advise me of it (...) Toledo, on 27 May 1596".

Desumptum ex Arch. Rom. Soc. Iesu, Tolet. Hispania 1597–1610 (*The Prov. of Tol. García de Alarcón to Aquaviva*): "(...) With the post that left eight days ago for Rome I wrote to Your Paternity how His Majesty had written to me that Fr. Francisco Suárez should go to read the chair of prime at Coimbra, and I accepted it because it seemed so to all the fathers (...) and it was held a great favour that at this time His Majesty should lay hand on a person of the Society for that chair. I called Father Suárez here to Madrid and there was no means by which he might go, alleging impossibility on account of his health (...) We shall see what His Majesty commands about the going of the other" (22 June 1596).

Desumptum ex Descamps II cap. 11, p. 167 (*Philip II to Fr. García de Alarcón*): "I the King. I send you much greeting. Ordering to treat with the Rector of the college of your order in this town about the necessity of a Master (...) and that I should receive contentment that Francisco Suárez should be the one to read

it, notwithstanding that he has excused himself for lack of health and strength; since I wrote you another time about this (...) and because the necessity there is for it of a person of letters and virtue is great, and of the said Francisco Suárez I have satisfaction, I charge you to order him precisely (...) and let him read as long as he can; and if health should fail him, then he may leave the chair (...) ten of February of 1597".

Desumptum ex Descamps II cap. 14 p. 169 (*Philip II to Fr. García de Alarcón*): I the King. I send you much greeting. I received yours in reply to that which I wrote about Francisco Suárez (...) and I have much contentment that you say he will go there (...) 28 March of 1597 years".

Desumptum ex Vasconcellos p. III, Ms. in Registo das Provisoes, liv. I fol. 341v (*Philip II to the University of Coimbra*): "Rector, lecturers, deputies and counsellor of the University of Coimbra. I the King send you much greeting. Having seen your letters (...) about the need to seek (...) a person of as much learning and parts as it requires; and I being informed that these concur in the person of Francisco Suárez (...) and that for his great learning and virtues his teaching and doctrine could be of much fruit in those schools, it seemed to me that provision should be made (...) Madrid, 14 April 1597".

8. Other documents of private persons

Suárez's non-scientific documentation is extremely sparse. Even his private correspondence is saturated with doctrinal matters or cases of conscience. The two volumes of *Conselhos e pareceres* recently published by the University of Coimbra are a proof of the enormous labour of moralist and canonist which he carried on in his correspondence. Among the private persons with whom he corresponds there figure the names of Bellarmine, an English Father, Fr. Gonzalo Albornoz, professor of Theology, the bishop Don Rodrigo da Cunha, and few others. A characteristic feature of this correspondence is the consideration with which he treats every person, even those whom he knows to be little disposed towards him. Thus he sends special remembrances to Fr. Luis de Torres, adverse to his doctrines (14 February 1613). He asks pardon for a servant of the bishop Da Cunha who had defrauded Suárez of 600 reales (12 Sept. 1616). Towards his students he shows a deep and self-sacrificing affection; he recommends them, but also admonishes them, as he does with Almada (21 February 1615). There is not in his correspondence a discourteous or inconsiderate word.

9. Biographies of Suárez

Suárez's biographies bear the stamp of the period in which they were composed. They may be divided, as was done above, into four stages: 1.ª) The stage of the contemporaries. 2.ª) The post-contemporary stage. 3.ª) The historicist stage. 4.ª) The present stage.

The stage of the contemporaries is dominated by an irrepressible admiration before the gigantic figure of the writer and professor, of inexhaustible virtue and wisdom. The stage of the post-contemporaries falls within the overflowing baroque: the biographers are truthful, but at the same time inclined to inflated and hyperbolical expression. The third stage, of Vasconcellos and of Scorraille — above all the latter, aided by Riviére — is of a documentary scrupulosity which at times appears exaggerated and minute. We call it *historicist* because History absorbs the human sciences, as an interpersonal drama. In Scorraille's *François Suárez* the dissensions between Vázquez and Suárez could have been avoided with a little more calm between the two protagonists. In the last thirty years the history of thought studies the internal drama of the ideas themselves. Vázquez and Suárez were dominated by mentalities so disparate that it was impossible for them to understand one another. That Vázquez was more impetuous and combative and Suárez more sedate and sensitive are incidental aspects. Hence in the last decades progress has been made in the internal and vital knowledge of Suárez and of his system, with the evidence ever more indubitable that in Suárez the intellectual life and the life of piety are two slopes of one and the same spiritual reality.

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10. Complementary bibliography

It is not possible, in Suárez's work nor in the bibliography relating to him, to trace the dividing line between the religious and the scientific, the holy and the human. His work is a perfect synthesis in which nature is raised and sanctified by the supernatural. His Metaphysics, like that of St. Augustine, of the Areopagite and of their great commentator St. Thomas, is wholly Christian (*Disp. Met.*, prooemium). This appears with increasing evidence in the modern bibliography on Suárez, of which some works have been cited, and its complement in the works of the IV Centenary of his birth (1948) gathered in the *Actas* II 413–423). In the preceding sub-heading there have been indicated, among the works of a more biographical type, those in which the piety of the Servant of God stands out most openly. A complement of that spiritual bibliography are the remaining works dedicated to Suárez. There has not yet been possible to publish either the epistolary of Suárez in three volumes, or the notable *Introduzione allo studio delle opere Franc. Suárez* of Th. Ub. Bartholomei, in two great volumes. Of these only some will be cited, chosen from among the histories, dictionaries and philosophical, theological and juridical works.

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3.—Writings of the Servant of God

a) General features

Suárez's scientific vocation passed through three phases, which are known by the writings that correspond to them. From 1572 to 1593, at Segovia, Valladolid, Rome and Alcalá, his writings had a scholastic purpose. He wrote out his lecture notes in order to dictate them in class. His explanations were adapted to the order of the *Summa* of St. Thomas, but branched out into great excursuses, which he called *disputationes*. About 1588 he received the order to prepare his notes for the press, which at first were also commentaries on the *Summa*, but devoting the greater part of the exposition to his own disputations. In this way he went through all the parts of the *Summa*, leaving very few gaps. The treatise on marriage is lacking. The purpose of these publications is not properly scholastic, but one of scientific revision imposed by the great cultural and religious crisis of the sixteenth century. The Suarezian works have been catalogued in the three following categories, where the numbers in parentheses indicate the corresponding volume of the Vivés edition.

A) *Philosophical treatises*, which comprise: a) Lost commentaries on Aristotle. b) *De anima* (III). c) *Disputationes metaphysicae* (XXV–XXVI). B) *Theological treatises*: a) *Commentaries on the third part*: t. 1.º *De Verbo Incarnato* (XVII–XVIII): t. 2.º: *De mysteriis* (XIX); t. 3.º: *De Sacramentis, de baptismo, de confirmatione* (XX) *De Eucharistia* (XXI); t. 4.º: *De paenitentia* (XXII): t. 5.º: *De censuris* (XXIII). b) *Works fitted into the Summa* (not commentaries). They answer to the 1 p.: 1.º) *De Deo et trino. De praedestinatione* (I); 2.º) *De Angelis* (II); *De opere sex dierum. De anima* (III). They answer to the 1-2: 1.º *Tractatus quinque* (IV) where the matter of questions 1–89 is explained: 2.º) *De legibus* (V–VI), which sets out the matter of questions 90–108. 3.º) The three volumes *De gratia* (VII. VIII. IX. X first part) where the matter of questions 109–114 is explained. 4.º) *De vera intelligentia auxilii efficacis* (X second part). 5.º *Opuscula theologica* (De auxiliis, De scientia media etc. (XI): in this volume there goes also the opuscule *De iustitia Dei*. 6.º) *Opuscula varia* (edited by Malou). They answer to the 2-2: 1.º *De triplici virtute theologica* (XII. 2.º) *De virtute et statu religionis* (two

volumes XIII and XIV dedicated to the virtue of religion, and volumes XV and XVI which study the religious state). C) *Polemical works and various writings*: 1.º) *Contra Venetos* (3 books: the first is not preserved, the rest were published by Malou) 2.º) *Defensio Fidei* (XXIV). 3.º) *Conselhos e pareceres* published in two great volumes recently by the University of Coimbra. This last group belongs to the third phase of the Suarezian writings, which does not correspond to the systematic plan of the *Summa* of St. Thomas. The predominant purpose of this group is the direct service of the Church (*Defensio Fidei* and *De immunitate*), of the religious life (*De religione*) and of the Christian people in general (*Conselhos e pareceres* and *De legibus*). His epistolary has this same last purpose.

b) Schematic classification of the printed works and editions (Riviére)

Printed works

1.—*De Verbo incarnato*: Compluti 1590.—Lugduni 1592.—Venetiis 1593.—Salmanticae 1595.—Venetiis 1598.—Venetiis 1600.—Moguntiae 1604.—Venetiis 1605.—Lugduni 1608.—Lugduni 1614.—Moguntiae 1617.—Venetiis 1745.—Parisiis 1860.

2.—*Mysteria vitae Christi*: Compluti 1592.—Lugduni 1594.—Venetiis 1594.—Matriti 1598.—Venetiis 1598.—Venetiis 1600.—Monguntiae 1604.—Venetiis 1605.—Lugduni 1608.—Lugduni 1614.—Moguntiae 1616.—Bergomi 1730.—Venetiis 1746.—Parisiis 1960.—Innsbruck 1888.—*Josephi Katechismus*.—Granada 1917: *Grandezas de San José*; Bilbao 1917: *Llena de gratia*.

3.—*Quaestio Theologica. Utrum opera mortificata... reviviscant*: Salmanticae 1594.

3.ª *Relectio super locum Pauli ad Ep.* 1. 1598.

4.—*De Sacramentis*: Salmanticae 1595.—Venetiis 1597.—Salmanticae 1598.—Moguntiae 1599.—Venetiis 1599.—Venetiis 1605.—Lugduni 1608.—Moguntiae 1610.—Lugduni 1614.—Moguntiae 1619.—Venetiis 1747.—Parisiis 1860–1861.

5.—*Metaphysicae Disputationes*: Salmanticae 1597.—Venetiis 1599.—Moguntiae 1600.—Moguntiae 1605.—Venetiis 1605.—Parisiis 1605.—Coloniae 1608. (?) Genuae 1608.—Venetiis 1610.—Coloniae 1614.—Genevae 1614.—Coloniae Allobrogum 1614.—Moguntiae 1614.—Parisiis 1619.—Venetiis 1619.—Coloniae 1620.—Moguntiae 1630.—Genevae 1636.—Venetiis 1751.—Parisiis 1861.—Bononia 1877: De corporum natura, Barcinone 1883–84.

6.—*Varia Opuscula theologica*: Matriti 1599.—Lugduni 1600.—Moguntiae 1600.—Lugduni 1611.—Moguntiae 1618.—Lugduni 1620.—Venetiis 1741.—Parisiis 1861.

7.—*De Poenitentia*: Conimbricae 1602.—Lugduni 1603.—Venetiis 1603.—Moguntiae 1604.—Lugduni 1608.—Venetiis 1608.—Lugduni 1615.—Moguntiae 1610.—Moguntiae 1618.—Venetiis 1748.—Parisiis 1861.

8.—*De Censuris*: Conimbricae 1603.—Lugduni 1604.—Venetiis 1606.—Moguntiae 1606.—Lugduni 1608.—Lugduni 1615.—Moguntiae 1617.—Moguntiae 1618.—Venetiis 1749.—Parisiis 1861.

9.—*De Deo uno et trino*: Olissipone 1606.—Lugduni 1607.—Moguntiae 1607.—Venetiis 1608.—Lugduni 1617.—Moguntiae 1620.—Venetiis 1740.—Parisiis 1856.

10.—*De Religione tomus 1us*: Conimbricae 1608.—Lugduni 1609.—Venetiis 1609.—Monguntiae 1609.—Lugduni 1613.—Moguntiae 1624.—Lugduni 1630.—Venetiis 1742.—Parisiis 1841: *De simonia*.—Parisiis 1859.

11.—*De Religione tomus 2us*: Conimbricae 1609.—Lugduni 1610.—Moguntiae 1610.—Lugduni 1614.—Moguntiae 1623.—Lugduni 1630.—Venetiis 1743.—Parisiis 1841: *De oratione: de horis canonicis*.—Parisiis 1859.—Lellei-Bruges 1880: *Traité de l'oraison*.

12.—*Resolución acerca de la professión de los Hermanos terceros seglares*: Zaragoza 1610.

13.—*De Legibus*: Conimbricae 1612.—Lugduni 1613.—Antverpiae 1613.—Lugduni 1619.— Moguntiae 1619.— Moguntiae 1621.— Londini 1679.—Venetiis 1740.—Parisiis 1841.—Parisiis 1856.—Neapoli 1872.

14.—*Defensio fidei catholicae*: Conimbricae 1613.—Coloniae Agrippinae 1614.—Moguntae 1619.—Moguntiae 1655.—Romae 1698: *étraits*.—Ventiis 1749.—Parisiis 1859.—Neapili 1872.—Barcinone 1882.

15.—*De Gratia Pars* 1.ª: Conimbricae 1619.—Lugdini 1620.—Moguntiae 1620.—Lugduni 1628.—Venetiis 1741.—Parisiis 1857.

16.—*De Gratia Pars* 3.ª: Conimbricae 1619.—Lugduni 1620.—Moguntiae 1621.—Lugduni 1628.—Venetiis 1741.—Parisiis 1858.

17.—*De Angelis*: Lugduni 1620.—Moguntiae 1621.—Lugduni 1630.—Venetiis 1740.—Parisiis 1856.

18.—*De triplici virtute theologica*: Conimbricae 1621.—Lugduni 1621.—Parisiis 1621.—Moguntiae 1622.—Aschafenburgi 1622.—Venetiis 1742.—Parisiis 1858.

19.—*De opere sex dierum*; *de Anima*: Lugduni 1621.—Moguntiae 1622.—Lugduni 1635.—Venetiis 1740.—Parisiis 1856.

20.—*Constituçoes synodaes do Bispado da Guarda*: Lisboa 1621–1686–1759.

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23.—*Tractatus quinque theologici: De ultimo fine...*; Lugduni 1628.—Moguntiae 1629.—Venetiis 1740.—Parisiis 1856.

24.—*De Gratia Pars* 2.ª: Lugduni 1651.—Moguntiae 1652.—Lugduni-Mediolani 1718.—Venetiis 1718.—Venetiis 1741.—Parisiis 1857–1858.

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C) Analysis of the studies directly related to the cause

1) Writings of biographical value

The historical biographies of Suárez have been built up on the basis of his letters, including with them the occasional writings of the *Conselhos*, the works properly so called, and the reports relating to Suárez, the study of which does not belong to this chapter.

The Suarezian epistolary, besides its exceptional value for the history of theology, contains biographical data of great importance, as was indicated above. From 1574 down to the year 80, Suárez is the fervent religious and professor, of a soul youthfully open and enterprising, who speaks with complete ingenuousness to the Superiors of his own affairs and those of others, of his desires and of the houses in which he lives. He gets on well with the Rectors and Provincials, but is in disagreement with the measures adopted against the Rector and against a certain professor by the Visitor, Fr. Avellaneda. Among his writings there is an exhortation on renewal, precious in substance and in form.

The period from 1592 to 1597 is a painful period of ill health and of doctrinal dissensions, which have their last manifestations in 1600. It was the providential period in which Suárez deepened and spiritualized his doctrine, thanks to the objections of the critical and powerful talent of Gabriel Vázquez. From 1603 to 1606 there is another period of sufferings, which does not proceed from domestic troubles. Suárez's epistolary gains in more universal preoccupations. The *consilia* occupy an ever more important part of his correspondence. He is a man who does not live for himself nor for his immediate surroundings, but for the universal Church, which has no theologian or thinker of his stature.

Suárez's printed works, understood — as has frequently been done — as a doctrinal system of his own, are of little doctrinal and still less biographical interest. As a projection of the intimate life of his soul they have here and there notable perspectives of elevation, but they require much reading and much familiarity with the author. It is notable that a writer who for his fecundity is comparable to Origen or to the most distinguished polygraphs could say with complete truth the phrase commented on by His Eminence Cardinal Cicognani: "This was always the aim of my labours, that God might be known by men more and worshipped more ardently and more holily" (*De virtute et Statu Religionis*, prooemium, ed. Vivés t. 13,1: *Miscelanea Comillas* (1948) p. 9).

The prologues constitute a Suarezian autobiography, which has been diligently studied and used by Fathers Scorraille, Riviere and Monnot, especially from the bibliographical point of view. Here we shall fix above all on the biographical and doctrinal aspect, beginning with his first productions in the last decade of the sixteenth century, the most sorrowful and stormy period of Suárez's life. The literary plans of the sickly and disputed professor of Alcalá were reduced. Lack of health had brought him back from Rome. In the pro-

logue *De Verbo incarnato* he says: it is necessary that, for the consummation of the whole theological business, after the consideration of human life and of the virtues and vices, our consideration should follow upon the Saviour of all Himself and upon the benefits bestowed by Him upon the human race (*De Verbo incarn.*, Prologue, 17, 1).

The work is the result of class lectures, in which during the preceding course (1588–1589?) he had explained the 1-2 and the 2-2. Suárez promises afterwards, in the *Praegati commentariorum* (*De Verbo incarn.*, Praefatio § 4; 17, 5), that he will divide into two principal parts the 3rd part of the *Summa*. The first will treat of Christ and His Mother; the second, of the Sacraments. As we know, these two parts occupied five volumes. On undertaking his publication, Suárez did not seem to cherish ulterior or more extensive plans.

In the third edition of the first volume he adds a notice after the *Pio lectori*. In the first edition he had excused himself for the excessive size of the volume. But, his doctrine having been attacked in learned and acute books published subsequently, he has found himself obliged to add extensive supplements in almost all the disputations. With this the book has turned out much larger, to the point of seeming another book. That is to say, Suárez's work had provoked a tempest of criticisms. The strongest came from the learned and acute Vázquez. Suárez makes profession of dispassionateness, and asks the Christian reader not to be surprised at seeing differences of opinion among Catholic authors: "for in these matters which are not settled by the certainty of faith, we have both received and read that among men even most holy there has been that same variety of opinions" (*De Verbo incarn., Ad eumdem*, 17, VII).

The prologue is didactic. The *praefatio commentariorum* is of a simple and sublime tone, in which Suárez begins by speaking of the difficulty of the matter and discourses on the nobility of the subject, drawing his inspiration from half a dozen of the most notable passages dedicated by the Holy Fathers to exalting the mystery of the Incarnation, and adding for his own part considerations which fall short neither in style nor in depth of the best that has been written on this subject. Panoramic views of this kind, which in St. Thomas and St. Augustine are very frequent, abound also in the Suarezian prologues. In the text they are not so frequent, nor can they be, given the analytic character of his writings. What is important about these great syntheses of Suárez is the depth which they attain through the analytic labour that precedes or accompanies them. It is a work integral to intuition and to discourse. Of interest are the proofs he brings forward to demonstrate that the Incarnation, being a singular thing, can be an object of science. Suárez considers it on an

absolute, suprahistorical plane. History for Suárez does not enter into the field of pure science.

In the *Ad lectorem* of the volume *De mysteriis* he solemnly renounces brevity. How be brief in uncovering the spiritual opulence of the mysteries of the Virgin? He will also speak of St. John the Baptist. The *praefatio* serves to justify the exorbitant amplitude with which he sets forth the mysteries of the Virgin, in comparison with the brief treatises which the preceding authors had devoted to them. (*De Mysteriis, ad lectorem*, 19, VI).

In the *Ad lectorem* of the volume *De mysteriis* he solemnly excuses himself for the delay in coming out to the light, although in reality he should rather be dispensed for the excessive haste of the work, since the work has been composed in the midst of many other occupations. Suárez writes this in the year 1602; the first volume *De sacramentis* had been published in 1595, but in the interval there appeared the monumental work of the Metaphysics (1597) and the *Opuscula Theologica* (1599). Besides, in the Sacraments he sets out the speculative doctrine and the moral doctrine, the latter a thing very difficult to expound.

These are years in which Suárez dedicates himself especially to the juridico-moral disciplines. In this same course, 1602–2603, he lectures on laws in the University at the petition of the Rector. Later he will go on preparing, in his spare moments, the *Tractatus quinque in* 1.2, of which work he wishes to make the crowning of his system. The controversy with Vázquez, as Suárez declared to the General, Fr. Aquaviva, in 1598, turned very especially on the radical divergence of the two theologians on moral principles, or rather on the concepts about them. (Suárez to Aquaviva, 12 February 1600. Cf. Scorraille, *Francois Suarez*, tr. Hernandez II 456). This datum is of importance for understanding Suárez's later scientific activity.

Among the theological works fitted into the *Summa*, mention must be made first of the *De Deo trino et uno*. Suárez warns in the prologue that in this volume he attempts a briefer method. The proem of this volume and those of the Metaphysics present a great affinity by reason of the very connection of the matters.

From the *Ad lectorem* of the Metaphysics it may be deduced that Philosophy and Theology are two sciences as inseparable as they are unconfusable. Suárez declares that he has had to interrupt his theological commentaries in order to lay a philosophical foundation for Theology. The ultimate root of this interruption is the same that motivated the immoderate growth of the third edition of the treatise *De Verbo incarnato*. They were, above all and

before all, the discussions with Vázquez which obliged him to strengthen his doctrinal positions. Suárez stamps upon the *Ad lectorem* of the Metaphysics two memorable phrases. In the first he calls Philosophy *humanam et naturalem Theologiam* (*Disp. met.*, Ad lectorem; t. 25, at the beginning). Man appears ever more decidedly at the centre of the Suarezian system — but not man in the purely natural state; rather the theological man, whose knowledge implies the knowledge of God. Hence the second phrase, that our Philosophy must be Christian, *ac divina Theologiae ministra*. (L.c.) There is no need to insist on the historical transcendence which these two observations have had and can have.

The human-divine character of science stands out in the Suarezian prologues with growing relief. It is to be noted the importance which he gradually gives to the posthumous work of the *Tractatus morales*. It was to be to moral theology what the Metaphysics was to speculative theology. Suárez says in the *praeludium* that the angels are also an object of Metaphysics, and in another paragraph he adds that men "*ratione oficii angeli dicuntur*". He ends the *praeludium* with a critical dissertation on the Dionysian authenticity of the great work *On the Celestial Hierarchy*, which gathers up the primitive ideas of Christianity concerning the angels (L. c. §§ 5,6; 2, XIII, XIV).

The *De opere sex dierum* dedicates three of its five books to man, as he indicates in the prologue. It is perhaps the last work which Suárez left completely finished. To conclude the *First Part* he was working on the redaction of the work *De anima* when he was surprised by death.

The salient feature of this last proem of Suárez is what we have called above the theological vision of man. It is not easy to find a scientific treatise in which human nature is spoken of with greater nobility and elevation. Without literary pretensions or overwhelming emotions, Suárez sets forth the dignity of human nature, which comprehends in itself all the grades of nature, and is the clearest mirror in which we can see reflected the divine nature.

To see God in man is what characterizes Christian contemplation and raises science to a superhuman degree. It is a special merit of Suárez to have focused in this way the contemplation of human nature, precisely in a century in which the Reformers had gone astray by seeing in man only an abominable creature. The Suarezian orientation encloses the purest essence of the baroque, attaining insuspected depths in the knowledge of God and of man.

Suárez goes on accumulating the human prerogatives with the simplicity that characterizes the works of geniuses. Everything in man, even the corporeal, is of a special dignity. Already before the first period of his professorship

Suárez defended the interpenetration which exists between the diverse human faculties through sympathy. The sensitive in man is not so material that it does not participate in some splendours of intelligence; nor is intelligence normally so elevated that it detaches itself from every sensitive ballast. The complexity of man and his elevation grow further when one considers that his natural qualities are as it were absorbed and raised to the higher sphere of the supernatural. From this complex there results the nobility of human morality, which demands a behaviour superior to all the laws of corporeal nature. Hence the connection which Suárez establishes between the knowledge of the soul and the science of morals, announcing once more his moral Treatises, a preoccupation which accompanies the Doctor Eximius to the very edge of the sepulchre.

It is to be noted that the greater part of the commentators on St. Thomas do not comment, in the first part, on questions 65 and following, leaving them for the philosophical commentaries on Aristotle. Suárez, on the contrary, transfers to Theology the science *De anima*, and likewise the study of creation, probably influencing the appearance of the theological subject *De Deo Creatore*. In this he follows, with regard to Aristotle, in the treatise *De anima* the same tactic he had adopted in the Metaphysics: the liberation of Christian science from excessive Aristotelian influence.

4. Features of Suárez's sanctity

a) In his youth (1548–1576)

The appointment of Fr. Suárez as Spiritual Father of his students at Segovia is a proof of the deep piety which distinguished him. Such an office could not be committed to any but a most eminent subject among the promotions of young Jesuits in the period of most fervour in the newly founded Society. Suárez at his 24 years satisfied fully his spiritual sons, who were almost of the same age as himself. This feature of piety shone forth in him throughout his life, and passed into the title of Eximious and pious Doctor by which posterity denotes him.

But piety was not enough. It was necessary to enjoy a great ascendancy based on prudence and human prestige. It was a peculiar note of the Servant of God, his great capacity for resolving thorny affairs of his own and of others. While still an adolescent and almost a child of eleven or twelve years, he freed a

companion of his own age from the danger of death by lynching, by bringing him into a church. Suárez's vocation is a triumph of his practical talent, and an epic not inferior to that of St. Stanislaus. Rejected by the consultors of Salamanca, he goes to Valladolid. Rejected again by the consultors of the Fr. Provincial, he succeeds in convincing the latter of the solidity of his vocation. On entering the Society he experiences difficulties, which he manages to overcome by first offering himself for the grade of brother, until his enlightened intelligence stands out.

b) Professor of theology in Spain and Rome (1576–1577)

The fame of the young professor of philosophy ran very soon through Spain and Italy, but with a note disquieting for excessively conservative spirits. Suárez subjected to an unwonted criticism certain orientations of Aristotle that were not Christian. This anti-Aristotelian reaction could be interpreted, though without foundation, as extending to St. Thomas. The young professor avoided the double reef of an easy opportunism and a demolishing criticism. At Valladolid, Rome, Alcalá and Salamanca he matured fully and published his first Christological and metaphysical works, with universal admiration. Much against his will, he appeared as the head of a school, provoking disagreements with Enríquez, Vázquez, Báñez and Zumel. Thanks to his sense of equilibrium, of exquisite charity, constancy, discretion and authentic wisdom, Suárez's thought found an echo in the Church, and came to fix the doctrinal orientation preferred in the Society. The prestige of his virtue and of his learning made of him the theologian most admired by Aquaviva and by Philip II, who represent the Roman and the Madrid criterion.

c) Professorship at Coimbra (1597–1615) and death (1617)

Suárez's theoretical and practical knowledge, conjoined with his eminent virtue, had produced fruits of universality from 1590 to 1597. Coimbra was witness of the crowning of his work. His treatise *De legibus* and the *De iustitia Dei* raise Law and Morals to the theological zone. The labours on Penance prepare the present pastoral discipline concerning the dying in the time of Paul V, who cancels the five condemnations of Suarezian doctrine by incorporating it into the Roman Ritual. Paul V considers Suárez as a man given by God *ad extirpanda zizania*. That will be the mission, slow but efficacious and profound, of his virtue and of his wisdom. Suárez will not be, like St. Thomas,

the *Doctor Communis*, but he will be the "Eximious and Pious Theologian", who solves difficult themes and settles the most tangled suits of the Church. In the controversy *de auxiliis*, thanks to Suárez's intervention and to ideas of his own, both parties arrived at positions that were not contradictory. In the conflict of Paul V with James I, the Suarezian *Defensio fidei* was the last and definitive word, confirmed by the Pope, on the relations of Church and State. His four volumes *de Religione* are the monumental and classic work of explanation and defence of the religious state. Suárez's intervention in the Interdict of Lisbon was the authorized testimony which restored peace in the submission of the Viceroy to the Pope. Suárez was, with his heroic sanctity, his prudence and his knowledge, the best advocate of Catholicism during the pontificate of Paul V. The Pope proclaimed it so before and after the death of the Servant of God.

d) Perspectives of the process of beatification

The disordered fondness for polemic has gravely disfigured the Suarezian portraits traced by his friends and adversaries. Suárez was not, and did not wish to be, a controversialist. His methods of discussion consist in deepening or ennobling the concepts on the basis of the rigorous analysis of the preceding authors. With this procedure he arrives at that species of intuitive vision of the problems discussed which so pleases the modern reader. Suárez's canonization would foster the positive study and the profound meditation of the great problems agitated in his works. A multitude of subjects would serve for Protestants, schismatics, atheists and the indifferent. Those who know Suárez are agreed in making of him the scientific expression of the spirit and mentality of St. Ignatius. For all students, especially in impassioned and controverted questions, Suárez could be a model of sincere love of truth, of nobility in discussion and of respect for the adversary. Perhaps there is no author in the Church who surpasses him in this virtue and in the humble submission of surrendering, even at the cost of his own fame, in obsequiousness to the Roman See.

e) Opportuneness of his glorification in the Church

The reasons indicated reveal the utility which the glorification of Suárez would suppose for Christian science. In the great crises of the Church there have appeared, beginning with St. Paul and continuing with Justin, St. Ire-

naeus, St. Augustine, St. Gregory the Great, St. Isidore, St. Thomas and St. Bonaventure, illustrious doctors who have testified with their virtue and with their knowledge, for later ages, to the vitality of Christian science. In the post-Tridentine period, no thinker is more illustrious and fruitful down to our own times than the Eximious and Pious Theologian. In some declarations to the Press, the President of the Council of State of Spain, señor Ibáñez Martín, has said with great aptness:

> "For us the figure of Father Suárez is not only gigantic in the intellectual order, but at the same time glorious within the Church, which he served with a devotion and a purpose that are admirable. Hence for Suarezians it would be a glorious date the day on which the Holy See should dispose the carrying out of the fitting formalities for that great Spanish thinker to be able one day to figure in the resplendent frame of sanctity" (Diario de Burgos 5 Sept. 1956, p. 8).

f) One objection could be formulated against the opportuneness of this glorification:

Why has the process of Suárez's beatification not been attempted before now? The reason is obvious. The Society of Jesus has introduced the causes of its most illustrious sons with an irregularity which can be seen from the dates of the death, beatification and canonization of its 21 saints, in the following list:

	Death	Beatification	Canonization
St. Ignatius of Loyola	1556	1609	1622
St. Francis Xavier	1552	1619	1622
St. Stanislaus Kostka	1568	1604 (1670)	1726
St. Aloysius Gonzaga	1591	1605	1726
St. Peter Canisius	1597	1864	1922
The Holy Japanese Martyrs	1597	1627	1862
St. Bernardine Realino	1616	1895	1947
St. Alphonsus Rodríguez	1617	1825	1888
St. Robert Bellarmine	1621	1923	1937
St. John Berchmans	1621	1865	1888
St. Francis Regis	1640	1716	1737
The Holy Canadian Martyrs	1642–1670	1925	1930
St. Peter Claver	1654	1851	1888
St. Andrew Bobbla	1657	1853	1938
St. John de Britto	1693	1853	1947
St. Francis de Jerónimo	1716	1806	1839
St. Joseph Pignatelli	1811	1933	1954

Suárez's hour had not come while the philological and historical methods were unable to undertake the combined and harmonious study of his life and of his science. The works published in recent years on Suárez show that the Suarezian portrait left by his old admirers — including that of Fr. Sorraille — is very pale for coming to know the immense doctrinal quarry which his work and his life contain for the edification of the Church in the modern world. No one like Suárez has gathered the scientific elements necessary for working towards the social reign of Christ; none has elaborated a morality more powerful against the subjectivism of modern Ethics in its Kantian, immanentist and existentialist versions of the Ethics of the situation.